

# AMERICAN OPINION

*In this issue*

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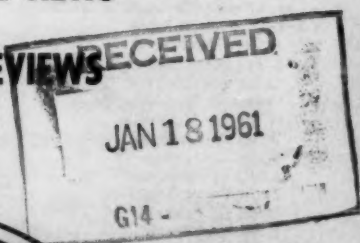
**A REVIEW OF REVIEWS**

Revilo P. Oliver

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## AMERICAN OPINION

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November 20, 1960

Dear Reader:

We wish you a Merry Christmas!

We hope that for you, and your family, and your friends, it will be a most happy occasion. And we hope that there will be many more.

Beyond all question the Communists will destroy both the significance of Christmas and its celebration if and when they can. Even in America.

As of now their prospects of doing so frighten us, as the pages of this magazine continuously reveal. We are painfully aware—and we do our utmost to make you aware—of how ubiquitous and how penetrating is the Communist influence around us today. We see the shadows of Communists everywhere we turn for the simple reason that *there are Communists casting those shadows*. As anybody can discover who will really look.

But we still think that Communism, far from being "the wave of the future," is contrary to the whole course of human history. It is kept alive, and spreading, only by a foul and ephemeral conspiracy. The question is not whether, but how soon, that whole conspiracy can be swept aside. The great body of mankind will presently return to the service of God's "one increasing purpose" for man—which is exactly the opposite in every respect of the Communists' own diabolical aims.

May both the happiness of Christmas and the reverent spirit of its celebration increase our determination to speed the day.

We wish you a Merry Christmas!

Sincerely,

*Robert Welch*

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## IF YOU WANT IT STRAIGHT . . .

Senator Kennedy has assured Vice-President Nixon that the election should not be thought of as in any way a repudiation of the present Republican Administration or its policies. This would sound considerably more gracious to us if somebody would point out any way in which the American people possibly *could have* repudiated the Eisenhower-Nixon policies. It is our contention that if there had been any opportunity to vote *against* what Nixon stood for, there are many more millions of good Americans who would have gone to the polls to vote *for* Nixon than did so. It was the basic indistinguishability of the two programs, the impossibility of the voters' repudiating either one, that converted what should have been an extremely important political campaign into a combination beauty-personality-and-elocution contest. Under the circumstances we can't help wondering whether Marilyn Monroe, if honestly and appropriately nominated by a Know Nothing Party, could not have run away with the election from both of the other candidates.

### Post Mortem

There are, of course, plenty of good Republicans, even conservative Republicans, who earnestly believed that Nixon was "the lesser of two evils." And maybe he was. At least he did not count Frank Sinatra and Sammy Davis, Jr. among his close personal friends. And while he seemed at times to be trying very hard to recruit advisors who were as distasteful to the American people as Kennedy's Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., John Kenneth Galbraith, and Chester Bowles, he never did quite succeed. Also, it is likely that our further descent all the way into state socialism, under Nixon, would have been less precipitous and better disguised than under Kennedy.

But being the lesser of two evils is one heck of a poor appeal on which to base a campaign for the presidency of the

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United States. During the last few weeks of that campaign it became pathetic to see each candidate hunting desperately for some tiny opening, somewhere, anywhere, through which he might attack his opponent without alienating his own left-wing supporters. Carrying water on both shoulders has never before been elevated to so painstaking and so respectable an art.

Naturally Nixon had a more difficult job in that part of the contest. For it was only in the South that Kennedy had to worry about the conservatives at all, while Nixon had to keep mud thrown in their eyes all over the United States. Nor was his loss of the election due to any lack of skill in this doubletalk department. In fact, some kind of prize for the all-time high, in that honored field of political warfare, should be awarded Mr. Nixon for his letter (supposedly) changing his position on the Connally Amendment. In support of which appraisal we submit the letter itself, herewith, on an adjoining page.

How many thousands of these letters went out, we don't know. But judging by the number that landed in the hands of our friends and were then forwarded to us, the total of conservative voters who received this letter was quite large. Out of that total we have not yet found even one person who pretends to know what the letter means. If the words and sentences are to be taken strictly at their face value, then the plan advocated by Mr. Nixon would actually be far worse for the independence of the United States than a simple repeal of the Connally Amendment. For not only would we have lost the right to decide for ourselves what disputes "are essentially within the jurisdiction of the United States"—which right *is* the Connally Amendment—but we would be more enthusiastically and submissively herded into the World Court's corral than we are at present. Yet this letter was heralded by some Americanist leaders as proclaiming a reversal of position on Nixon's part, and a new attitude which they could gladly approve. If you can't fool all of the people all of the time, you can at least try to confuse them for a few weeks.

If You Want It Straight . . .



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

October 3, 1960

Dear Friend:

I want to thank you for your recent letter in which you expressed concern over the effect of possible repeal of the Connally Amendment.

There has been a great deal of misunderstanding as to what the Connally Amendment does. My own study of the problem has convinced me that due to the effect of the Connally Amendment the International Court of Justice has not realized its potential as an instrument for world peace and that the United States should join with Great Britain, France, India and the other 30 free world countries who have accepted the Court's jurisdiction.

I believe the Connally Amendment should be replaced by a new reservation which should be so phrased that the declaration will not apply to disputes which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States of America or to disputes involving the national security of the United States of America. With such a declaration we will protect our sovereignty through protections that the Connally Amendment does not give and at the same time strengthen our world position by taking the leadership in indicating our willingness, under proper safeguards, to settle our disputes with other nations through the rule of law rather than resort to force.

Sincerely,

A large, stylized handwritten signature of Richard Nixon is written over the typed name. The signature is in dark ink and is quite fluid and expressive.

Richard Nixon

## If You Want It Straight . . .

### A Candid Look At The Losing Candidate

It is now pretty well conceded on all sides that Nixon lost the election in his joint appearances with Kennedy on the four television programs. And there is no doubt that his pride and confidence in his skill as a debater did thus betray him. For the Kennedy handlers never had any slightest intention of permitting anything that even remotely resembled a serious debate. There was nothing to debate about, and they knew it. What they wanted was to build up the prestige of their boy by putting him in the same ring with the man who had been Vice President of the United States for eight years. In the contest of froth and beauty that then followed, the non-glamorous and serious Nixon never had a chance.

But these misnamed "debates" into which Nixon was enticed could not have been the last straw that broke the back of his once massive popularity, if the weight of other straws had not been accumulating for a long time. In our opinion Nixon began losing the 1960 election in 1950, two years before he was even elected Vice President. In that year, right while making the greatest "pitch" of his career, in California, as a vigorous anti-Communist conservative, he also started feathering his nest with the liberals on the national and international scene, against his future needs. He was one of the founders, in 1950, of *Republican Advance*, which was designed to be the progressive, "liberal" wing of the Republican Party, to work with the ADA in the Democratic Party in seeing that both parties moved steadily to the left.

In 1950 there was founded, in Havana, Cuba, the Inter-american Association for Democracy and Freedom, which has now become — as it was then originally designed to become — one of the strongest forces throughout all of Latin America for promoting the gradual advance of Communism. And Mr. Richard Nixon was one of the original American sponsors of the organizing conference of the I.A.D.F.— along with Waldo Frank, Harry Laidler, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Clarence

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Senior, Norman Thomas, and other birds of the same (red) color.

Other straws, some of them much heavier, gradually accumulated over the years. There was Nixon's part in the incredibly dirty deal given Taft at the 1952 Republican Convention. There was Nixon's leadership in getting our National Security Council to advise the Soviet satellites to give up any idea of revolt or liberation, and to accept as permanent their status as parts of the Soviet system. There was Nixon's more or less passive part in the destruction of Joe McCarthy; and his active part in ending the political career of Bill Knowland. There was his frantic maneuver to have HR 3 defeated in the 85th Congress without his having to cast the deciding vote. And there was his gradual identification with every folly of appeasement on the part of the Eisenhower administration.

It was Richard Nixon who let himself be humbled and degraded, and the United States which he officially represented thus be humiliated, at the "inauguration" of that Kremlin puppet, Kwame Nkrumah, as "President" of Ghana. It was Richard Nixon who called that murderous Communist tyrant, Achmed Sukarno, the "George Washington of Indonesia." And it was Richard Nixon who, on his South American tour, insisted on making that visit to the University in Lima which was not at all necessary, and which was vigorously opposed by the Peruvian authorities themselves. For they knew and Nixon knew the kind of reception he and his wife would receive there. But Nixon insisted on providing this opportunity for the Communists to inflict the last measure of humiliation on the United States through their treatment of its Vice President, and for himself to reap the last measure of publicity and sympathy at home as the man who was having to take all of this abuse.

### Who Always Knew The Score

The most important item of war matériel in the Communists' armory is, and always has been, prestige. They have made

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tremendous strides towards conquest of the whole world by steps which simply increased their prestige and correspondingly lowered the prestige of the United States. Such steps, in which the United States Government or its individual officials willingly played their allotted roles (although clearly ignorant in many cases of the real significance of what they were doing), have been entirely too huge and too frequent since 1953. Among the most important have been our attendance at the Summit Conference of 1955; the preposterous parade of Communist "dignitaries" as honored visitors to our country, climaxed by the visit of Khrushchev himself; the deliberate and terrific humiliation of our President at the second summit conference; and one episode for which Richard Nixon was singularly and separately responsible.

This grandstand play was his allowing a posed photograph of Mrs. Nixon, in a display of comradely embracing and affectionate good fellowship with the wives of three of the leading Communist "big shots," to be published as the cover picture of an issue of *Life Magazine*. That picture, for which all necessary background had been prepared, to make it convincing, by publicity concerning the Nixons' visits with Khrushchev and others in Russia, was carried by the tremendous circulation of *Life* — helped along in this case, of course, by the Communists' world-wide propaganda machine — to every country of the planet where it could disgust and demoralize the anti-Communists on both sides of the Iron Curtain. It made the total Nixon tour of almost as much value to the Kremlin as the billion dollars' worth of free and favorable publicity given Khrushchev's visit to the United States by most of the world's press. How much support of the liberals it garnered for Mr. Nixon, and how many votes it ultimately lost for him among American patriots, was a "calculated risk" on which he may have been badly outsmarted by those who had the most to gain.

Another very large and heavy straw in this growing pile was the settlement which Richard Nixon ruthlessly forced, on the steel manufacturers, of the strike in that industry. By



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brazen use of his prestige as Vice President and of whatever ability he had or was assumed to have to speak for both the Administration and the Republican Party, Nixon pulled the labor bosses' chestnuts out of the fire for them, and handed them improper and inadvisable concessions by management which had been beyond their fondest hopes until he stepped into the picture. Not since Franklin Roosevelt was paying off his debts to John L. Lewis has top political power been used so coldbloodedly in this country to promote the power of the union bosses. But Nixon owed no debt to "Labor," and was paying none. He was merely proving to the most socialistic, arrogant, and powerful labor "barons" that he was on their side too, the same as Mr. Kennedy. And there were thousands of able, influential, patriotic business leaders in this country who voted for Richard Nixon on November 8 all right; but who, knowing all of the above, made wry faces while doing so.

Then came such things as his now-you-see-it-now-you-don't stand for repeal of the Connally Amendment; his "sell-out" to Rockefeller over the Republican Party's platform and direction; and the complete denial to the conservatives of any standing or privileges, or even their legal rights, at the Republican National Convention. And finally Nixon gave the most cynical slap in the face to the followers of Taft or the friends of McCarthy that could possibly be imagined: the acceptance of Lodge as his running mate. So that, by the time those television exhibitions took place, the very people who would have preferred Nixon's sound thinking (of which he is entirely capable) to Kennedy's sophisticated charm had lost all confidence in Nixon's utterances being anything but campaign bait.

It's true that most of these Americanists, like the business men referred to above, voted for Nixon anyway. He was correct in assuming — and designing — that they would have no place else to go that had sufficient attraction. But the people we are talking about do not *directly* account for more than a million votes, at the most. Even in the closest of elections it is doubtful

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if their own votes would be decisive either way. Their effect on any election, however, through the work they would do, the money they would put up, the enthusiasm they would build, and the thoroughness with which they would "follow through" until the last poll was closed, on behalf of any candidate in whom they really believed, is quite another matter. The people who wanted Barry Goldwater nominated at Chicago could, by their efforts, have accounted for five million more votes for Nixon, if Goldwater could ever have got them to take off their coats and go to work. You just don't put your life and your savings into a great crusade on behalf of the lesser of two evils. And so Mr. Nixon also wound up as the lesser of two vote-getters; for the people who wanted Kennedy — however mistaken and misled by demagoguery they may have been — had more *positive* reasons for their preference and more *enthusiasm* in their efforts.

### The Misshape Of Things To Come

None of the great tragedy for Nixon personally, however, for the Republican Party, or for our country, should blind us to the fact that of two evils he was the *lesser*, without doubt. For John Kennedy is a product of Harvard College, Harold Laski, and the Americans For Democratic Action. And after talking to a great many of our good friends throughout the country (of *all* religious faiths, incidentally), who are among the most energetic and courageous fighters against the Communist advance in America today, the one single *good thing* about John Kennedy on which they and we can agree is that Eleanor Roosevelt doesn't like him. But that's a slender thread on which to hang any hope. For Adlai Stevenson does.

The sad truth is that John Kennedy has been so swept off his feet by "the wave of the future," and is so completely a child of the international *Zeitgeist*, rather than of either his country or his religion, that he is only partly to blame for all of the tremendous grief he is likely to cause to both. But grief he will certainly bring them, by his appeasement of their Com-

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munist enemies, and even by sympathy for some Communist purposes, during the years ahead. For we return to the point that to Kennedy his own election represents no repudiation of the Eisenhower program. In fact it is already clear that you are about to see "bipartisanship" glorified as never before.

So once again, as in 1952, we have a change which is no change. The slogan of the new administration could well be: "Here we go again, boys!" We have already gone a long, long distance towards the loss of both our national independence and our individual freedoms, since Roosevelt started us down that road in 1933. And the way to strangle at birth any opposition to the next galloping plunge into the socialist morass is to get as many so-called Republicans as possible on the bandwagon to enjoy the ride.

That our direction remained the same, and our speed of descent increased, during the eight years under Eisenhower, is now too obvious for argument. The only differences we can anticipate, in the gradual surrender of our national sovereignty and our personal lives to an international socialist government, under Kennedy instead of Eisenhower, are these: The speed of surrender will now still further increase; and the camouflage of opposition to international socialist aims will be more brazenly and completely tossed aside. We are now headed boldly and openly for the "new frontiers" of one-worldism, "production for use and not for profit," "peace," and universal happiness forevermore. And if the tyranny of a supergovernment, the stagnation and misery of a socialist economy, and the personal slavery labelled as "peace" don't make you happy, the police of this new paradise on earth will promptly add their gentle powers of persuasion. You had better be happy, deliriously happy, at what the government does for you and to you in this approaching Utopia — or the government will finish the job of making you happy in a concentration camp or with a bullet to the back of your brain. And if you think we are exaggerating, or seeing spectres, you don't even have to go to Czechoslovakia or East Germany, or to Iraq or North Vietnam, or any-

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where else in Europe or Asia now, to learn otherwise. Just ask the good people of Bolivia or of Cuba what they think of the new frontiers of government-provided and government-enforced happiness which have been bestowed upon them.

### The Revolution Was (At The Top!)

Two years ago, in a speech of which some hundred thousand copies have since been distributed in one printed form or another, this writer pointed out and emphasized the frightening *transition* in the relationship between Communists and anti-Communists, in the United States and throughout the remaining supposedly "free" world, that was already taking place. Instead of the national patriots of any country being in control of their government, and seeking to put down a conspiratorial Communist force which sought to overthrow that government, it was the Communists and their sympathizers who were everywhere gradually taking over the reins of power at the top, and making themselves the "lawful régime"; while the anti-Communists and national patriots of those same nations were being maneuvered into the position of conspirators and insurrectionists *against* established government. Today the visible evidences of that transition, and of how far it has gone, are already enormous.

Just take a look at, and give a moment's thought to, the various armed revolts over the world, of the past two years or now in progress. Few of them, since the seizure of Iraq and Cuba by Communist terrorists, have been revolts of Communists trying to overthrow anti-Communist governments. Mostly they have been, and are, revolts of despair, right in supposedly "free" countries, on the part of anti-Communists striving to stop the gradual tightening of the Communist chains about themselves by their *supposedly non-Communist* governments. Such was the desperate revolt of the "Colonels" in Sumatra. Such is the smoldering armed resistance of more than a million patriotic Frenchmen in Algeria, morally supported by a preponderant part of the eight million Moslem natives, against the

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ultimate surrender of their lives and lands into the hands of the Communists. They are in more or less cold revolt, which could erupt as a really hot revolt at any time, against the pro-Communist policies of their own government in Paris. (These are policies which *Senator* John Kennedy and *Ambassador* Henry Cabot Lodge have done more than any other two men to force on de Gaulle. And the fury of these patriotic anti-Communist Frenchmen against our United States Information Service shows that *they* understand which side the USIS is on far better than the American people who support it.)

And another revolt of exactly the same basic nature is going on right now in South Vietnam, against the incredibly corrupt, tricky, Communist-aiding and deeply hated Ngo dinh Diem family whom we imposed on that unhappy half-nation and have maintained there for five years. Nowhere else in the world, perhaps, has the gap been greater, between the truth and the lying distortions of that truth given the American people by our State Department, than with regard to South Vietnam. And it is not that these falsehoods of State are now about to catch up with them, unfortunately, but just the opposite. Their policy of subtly selling out the country to the Communists has been so successful, and at last so inescapably visible, that the present revolt of despair was simply inevitable in time. We have been foreshadowing it, in the pages of this magazine, at every good opportunity for at least three years.

Similar revolts of the right, against the firmly entrenched Moscow-aiding left, are bound to be in the making in various other countries. For through foreign aid, diplomatic pressures, and every other practicable means, our government has now helped Moscow to establish and maintain pro-Communist governments in all but a very few of the so-called "free" or uncommitted nations of the whole world. And just how far we now are from similar suicidal sacrifices within the United States it is hard to say.

For in our own country there has for a long time been no question among the well-informed (on either side) about the

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Communist domination of our Federal Government—despite the many good men still in it. The big question is how fast and how far that government will go in making its subservience to Communism more visible, and in closing down on the anti-Communist patriots of this country more directly and openly than it did on Joe McCarthy. Let's hope that we are still years from armed revolts of despair in the United States against the tightening police state methods that have already started; and that enough Americans can still be waked up to what is happening, in time to reverse the trend by educational and political means. But if so, it will have to be done despite every obstacle and threat and pressure that can be devised by a great many of the men behind Senator Kennedy — and a great many of those whom, as our new President, he will take over from the old one.

These are all harsh words and terrifying facts, but they are all true, nevertheless. And to those who object to our saying such things, our only answer is: Do you want it straight, or don't you? This magazine is published for those who do.

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### *We Pause To Remark*

The best campaign slogan we saw anywhere was the button reading NEITHER. Imagine our horror, therefore, on finding it widely accepted, as an effect and interpretation of the vote on November 8, that we elected BOTH.

\* \* \*

Sometime ago we saw a newspaper item that the Community Facilities Administration (ever hear of that one before?) had approved a loan of \$1,700,000 to Dartmouth College to build three dormitories to house 327 students. The number of direct and brazen violations of the Constitution of the United States involved in that transaction ought to please John Sloane Dickey and his fellow Dartmouth "liberals" as much as having the money to spend.

\* \* \*

While the United States is gradually destroying its railroads, the Russians are making great efforts to extend and improve theirs. A major undertaking, reported in recent issues of *Trains*, is extensive electrification, which is to include the whole of the Trans-Siberian line. The interesting point is that the heavy equipment, including the very impressive electric locomotives, is being made in France and West Germany. Our Liberal friends will explain that this proves that Russia has made such phenomenal industrial progress that she does not need to manufacture her own equipment.

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# "TELL THE PEOPLE IN USHA"

by

YOLANDE GREGORY

WHEN I WAS in Vienna this summer, I had an opportunity to drive some sixty miles from the city to see the frontier that so many Hungarians have risked their lives to cross to a land of freedom. Along all the miles of this border the Communists have now installed three rows of barbed wire, about three feet apart. The fields adjacent to the fence are uncultivated; no hand ever reaps the wild wheat and oats that grow in profusion on the rich soil; no animal ever grazes there. Between the field and the triple fence is an area of ploughed land about eight feet wide, which has been lovingly planted with dynamite, so that anyone who tries to escape from the prison called Hungary will be blown to bits or at least have a leg blown off.

I drove out with several young Hungarians who wanted me, an American, to see the road that leads to the slavery from which they had escaped. It was once a wide state highway, now overgrown with grass. It ran through the empty field on to a village in Hungary about a quarter of a mile from the border.

As we stood not far from the barbed wire fence, three small European cars pulled up, and their occupants, English, German, and Austrian, joined us in silence. We looked over the fence and across the fields at what appeared to be a dead, abandoned, forgotten place. An Englishman lent me his binoculars, so that I might see the village more clearly. A young Hungarian came up

on a motorcycle and joined us. He came to that spot every Sunday, he said, because his parents, who lived only a few miles away, often came to the village to let him see that they were still alive and well, and to reassure themselves by a distant glimpse of him.

The village at which we were looking, I learned, has about two thousand inhabitants. To the left of the grass-grown highway stood a house of stucco painted white, to the right, one painted yellow, both shaded by old and drooping trees. As we watched, a middle-aged couple came out of the white house followed by a dog, and stopped to gaze toward our group, which now numbered eleven. I lifted my arm to wave a large handkerchief in a friendly gesture. The man started to lift his arm, and then dropped it. I saw why. Two Communist policemen on horseback were coming toward us, making their usual rounds along the border.

A young Hungarian named Jozsi, whose leg had been crushed during the uprising against the Soviet and who will always walk with a crutch, insisted on taking me some three hundred feet down the border to show me the very berry bush that had been his first shelter on Austrian soil. He had crawled the quarter mile across the field, pulled himself over the barbed wire, and collapsed under that bush, which, he said, had seemed to enfold him as in a mother's embrace to shield him from the eyes of possible pursuers.

While we were talking, another



## "Tell The People In USHA"

young man came up. He pointed in the direction of his home, and said, "To be so very near, and still so very far away from my beloved home, family, and country . . . only two miles away is our house—and today is my sister's wedding day . . . to see my wife once again, my parents . . ." He began to weep and ran from us, to throw himself down in the deep grass of the meadow, among the Queen Anne's lace and the wild wheat.

A young couple joined us, and offered to lend me their binoculars. I asked them where they had lived in Hungary. The man pointed to the yellow house on the right of the road in the village. I asked him if he owned it. "Yes," he said, "but not anymore; the Communist state took it and rented it to another worker, and the Communists keep the rent for themselves. They are the owners, the capitalists who own the entire country; they own the strength and time and talent of every human being in Hungary." He and his wife invited us to come to their new home, which stood a couple of minutes' walk away, only a few yards from the barbed wire.

Suddenly we heard loud shouting from across the border. I had not particularly noticed the watch-tower on the right side of the field; but now I saw that in the lookout a policeman was observing us through his binoculars, while another stood below under a cherry tree, eating cherries with his left hand, while his right supported a red machine gun held ready for action. The policeman in the tower was yelling at us, "Disappear, you, but fast!" And then the other, "Can't you hear? Get away from there, and make it fast!" Everyone was silent and stood motionless. I had the urge to yell back, but I

was warned, "It's dangerous. Those people are savages, terrorists, sick with authority, and many times they *have* shot across the border at people." So I turned aside into the meadow to pick wild flowers and some wild wheat, to remember the day.

Presently we walked to the house of the couple who had invited us. They told us that even now, difficult as escape is, occasionally someone dares to come across the border. Some trust to luck or instinct—and sometimes win. Others pay their way: they bribe someone who knows just where the mines are and where one can step on the ploughed area safely. After that, it's a matter of crossing the three rows of barbed wire, and then jumping down onto the free soil of Austria. It all sounds very simple, but it is far from that.

Just the week before we came, three young Hungarian freedom fighters decided to take the chance, for they heard that the Communists were planning eventually to arrest *all* those who participated in any way in the 1956 fight for freedom. For even today men are dragged from their homes at midnight and secretly executed; and since no one dares speak, only their families know what happened to them. The three young men got as far as the border and hesitated there in indecision, for the ploughed area had been widened and was now too broad to leap over. But the police from the lookout tower had spotted them. A patrol took them unawares, beat the young men until they seemed dead, and then contemptuously threw the bodies over the barbed wire into Austria.

This had happened near the home of our hosts. They had heard the commotion and the screaming, and had seen the discarding of the bodies. After the

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## "Tell The People In USHA"

police went away, the couple ran to the nearest neighbor for help, called a physician, and then moved the three bodies into their house. The doctor came, examined them, found that they were still alive, and sent them to the hospital. By the time of our visit, two had sufficiently recovered to tell what happened. The third was still in such a condition that no one knew whether he would survive his terrible injuries.

At that, the men had been more fortunate than others—even than some who survive. For example, a dispatch from the Associated Press in the Indianapolis *Star* for 19 September reports that three Hungarians, all about eighteen, had managed to reach Austria after touching off one of the mines in the ploughed strip. One of them lost his right leg, the second, his left leg, and the third had been severely injured.

Our hosts showed us through their new home. It was a well built house of stuccoed brick, nicely finished on the inside, but furnished with only the most necessary pieces and these made by hand. I asked them why they had built so very close to the border. They said, "At least we can see our old home, our country, and get a glimpse of members of our family, who live just on the other side. We can wave to them now and then, when they feel it is safe to come to the edge of the road. We managed to send them some binoculars, so they can really get a look at us."

The man worked in the brick factory nearby, setting and firing a kiln. I asked him what was the average wage in Austria. He said, "I get 287 schillings for a six-day week, but there are others, who have been there longer, who are paid 300 schillings." (Three hundred schillings is equivalent to a little less than \$12.00 in our money.)

Of course, that made me wonder how he had been able to build his new house. He said that the United States had given \$500 to each refugee (including infants) who did not emigrate to the United States. There are three in his family, so they received a total of \$1500; that had paid for the new home and the necessary furniture he had made—and they still had something left for an emergency.

But their new home does not replace in their hearts the yellow house they can see beyond the barbed wire and the empty fields. They told me that they will be able to move back there in half an hour when Hungary is liberated. For like almost all the Hungarians I saw in Austria, they still hope for a miracle—still cling pathetically to the hope that someday the great and distant nation they call *USHA* (United States of America) will keep the promises it made to them over its own radio at the time of their revolt in 1956. The fact that at that time, as all the Hungarians (and Austrians) agree, the American broadcasts misled and deceived them with empty promises and false statements has not destroyed their hopes—they wait and still wonder why we do not come. And when they ask, what can we answer?

Indeed, they cannot understand why *USHA* did not stop the Soviet many years ago, long before it began to take over other countries, for they have seen and lived with Communists and know what they really are.

"The only people," said my host, who are sympathetic to Communism and want it are those who want it to make themselves important. They have failed in everything else, and have a deep resentment against life, so they are eager to terrorize others, because it

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will give them a feeling of importance and power to show their authority and live off the fat of the land, while the majority have to suffer as slaves. We are treated by them as insects on which a human foot steps at will. They derive great pleasure from inflicting pain on others—and then get highly paid for it.

"The greatest damage the Soviet has done to the world," he continued, "has been to excite and release the destructive compulsions of psychologically deformed individuals who theretofore felt inadequate, unwanted, and could not fit themselves into society because they are out of the rhythm of normal human life. Communism is a tool by which they overpower decent people, who are not patterned as they are. The idea spread and caught on in other lands because there is a certain percentage of these sadists in nearly every country. If their nature is discovered, a civilized government makes an effort to cure them or puts them into institutions. In civilized countries many such are now in prisons and insane asylums. A Communist régime is what happens when they get power. *USHA* should have stopped Russia long ago."

A young Hungarian in our party spoke up. "When the Communists first came in," he said, "I was a child, but I recall wondering why so many strange new people were moving into our town. Later, we found out this was the Soviets' way of integrating themselves. They would move a Communist family into a home next to several people whom they believed to be the ones who could be taken in most easily by the Communist line. This pattern was used all over until there were several Communists on either side of every street. They spent their social life selling Communism to everybody. Little

by little people were taken in; later, of course, they were forced to become Communists in order to survive."

Back in Vienna, I was invited to take a trip into Communist Hungary. I had to decline, but with regret, because the excursion is like no other in the world. It operates at the insistence of the Austrian government, to make life more bearable for the Hungarian refugees, and there has thus far been no incident which would give the Communists a pretext for discontinuing it. Trains leave Austria daily for Sopron, a city about sixty miles within Hungary. But the passengers are not permitted to get off, or even to open a window. On the platform of the station at Sopron stand families who have usually been notified by mail on what day their loved one will come on the train for a "visit." They must stand about six feet from the sealed train, under the watchful eyes of the AVH (secret police) who stand by to prevent attempts at communication. So the passengers, sitting in the locked cars behind locked windows, and their relatives standing at the platform in Sopron, mutely gaze at each other until the train must go back to Austria.

I saw something of another kind of excursion. I was in Vienna when the first boat came down the Danube from Budapest, carrying Hungarian workers on a six-day vacation. This was the first of a series of excursions much heralded by Communist propaganda. We drove to the shore of the Danube, about six miles from the center of Vienna, and waited for the boat to dock. It was a river steamer built over a hundred years ago, and now newly painted white, with its name in large, bold, black letters across the front, MEGMENTETT, which means *Saved*

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—from what, no one knows.

We watched the bright lights come on, and heard the gypsy band play the familiar tunes that the Hungarians sing and teach to their children from generation to generation. But something was missing, something that has been a part of the Hungarian spirit for a thousand years or more: no one was singing. It was a joyless holiday for the 140 tired people, who had been "sent" here, according to the propaganda, "to reward them for outstanding work done." Many of these chosen workers came ashore to join the spectators, for it was about eight in the evening, too late for them to attempt to go to the city.

One of them, a woman about forty, offered to sell us a stick of salami and a bottle of apricot brandy. She said most of the passengers had brought things to sell, as they were poor, and it cost them a great deal of cash to make the trip. I asked her how much it cost. She answered that she came third class, which cost her 800 forint; second class cost 1200 forint, and first class, 2000. I asked her why they had to pay for the trip if it was a "reward for good work," as claimed in the Communist publicity. She only shook her head; she was afraid to speak. I assured her that we were not Communists. Another woman came up, who explained that many agents of the secret police had come with the vacationers to prevent escapes. And as we stood there talking, the women's voices would now and then sink to a murmur at the approach of someone whom they recognized as one of their watchdogs.

One of the women asked me how much a forint is worth in American dollars. I told her that for \$34.00 I could buy 1000 forint—that, they said, would pay the average wage earner in

Hungary for five weeks' work. When I asked how much the agents of the secret police were paid, I was told they get from 18,000 to 20,000 forint a month, which would be about \$620 to \$700—twenty-five times the pay of the average worker.

Other passengers from the boat joined us. They told us that conditions in Hungary are almost unbearable—that while wages are very low, the cost of living is very high. The farmers are, perhaps, the most wretched of all, for they have to deliver all their produce to the "harvest caravan" when it comes along, and are left only the government ration, which is barely enough for subsistence. And if they fail to meet their quota, they are punished in various ingenious ways.

The Soviets, we were told, have a talent for selecting perverted and sadistically inclined individuals to become heads of departments and leaders of party groups—persons to whom destruction is a spiritual fulfillment, and the infliction of pain, an exquisite pleasure. They are trained in the art of torture that is uniformly used in all Communist territory (including Yugoslavia) and can extract from anyone a "confession" to anything. They hold the whole nation in chains of terror.

Our informants wanted most of all to talk about the United States, for they are waiting for *USHA* to free them. They could not understand why we waste so much time in being polite to the Soviets, as though they were a civilized government instead of a gang of sadists hated by their slaves in Russia as elsewhere. All our attempts to reason with them or to negotiate are simply taken as proof of our weakness and fear. This, the passengers from the boat said again and again, the United States

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must understand before it is too late.

The following week we went down to the docks again and met the second boatload, talked with the passengers, and even learned to recognize, from their furtive eyes and expressions of ill-concealed guilt, the agents of the secret police. The people from this boat echoed what had been said before, and conversed with us more freely. I later learned that three of them managed to make their escape and hide themselves in Vienna.

I left before the third excursion arrived, but I was told that the passengers were far more cautious and fearful, having been warned that they would be punished if they talked to spectators. The world was not supposed to know that the favored workers, who were being "rewarded" by their magnanimous Communist government, had had to pay what was, in relation to their income, a very high price for their passage. But these people also talked, though only while they were shopping, and then always in whispers, even among themselves.

In Vienna I had quite a conversation with a youngish man who was one of the privileged 'professional' people in Communist Hungary. So far as I could see, he had hardly any talent at all, other than willingness to obey and do whatever he was told, but he belonged in the 18,000 to 20,000 forint class. When I asked him how he liked Communism, he said, "for me, it's fine." He makes a good living, his wife is head of a big office, and he has all the

freedom he wants. He had come to Vienna to the Music Festival, and when he returned, he and his wife were going to Capri for sun and pleasure. I looked at his sly, sallow face and asked him, "What about the other seven million people?" He only shrugged his shoulder, indicating that it was none of his business. I found he was taking some watches back to sell at a handsome profit to the highly paid aristocracy of a "classless society" that has "abolished the profit motive."

And as I spoke with this smug, unintelligent hireling of his country's oppressors, I thought of the many other Hungarians whose faces and words I would also remember. I thought of an old woman sitting quietly on a bench under the cherry trees that shaded the street of a small Austrian village. She had lived through two world wars and their aftermaths of revolution and suffering. "After each war," she said, "our country was cut up and annexed to others. What right did Mr. Wilson have to do that, and the other Presidents after him? But the worst thing that happened to us was when *USHA* politely waited for the Russians to go into Hungary and occupy it. *USHA* let them in, and *USHA* should have gotten them out."

And I thought of the young man who had lain face down sobbing in the meadow on his sister's wedding day. "Please," he had said before we parted, "please tell the people in *USHA* how we feel. For we are being crushed in the fist of the Soviet."

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### *Peace—It's Wonderful*

Khrushchev is a man of peace, this we all recall;  
A piece of this, a piece of that, until he has it all.

# COMMUNIST STRATEGY AND THE HIGH SEAS

by

GEORGE WINDER

SENATOR Barry Goldwater lately said, "Communists do not look upon negotiations as we do, as an effort to reach an agreement. For them negotiations are simply an instrument of political warfare. For them a summit meeting is another battle in the struggle for the world."

If Senator Goldwater has taken note of a United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which took place at Geneva this spring, just when the attention of the West was concentrated on the preliminaries for a "Summit," he will have found much to confirm his statement in what happened at a meeting that was barely mentioned in the American press. He will have discovered that it was only by extraordinary good fortune that the Western negotiators at this meeting did not present Russia with a concession which would have been of inestimable use to her in times of war. In fact, the Communist power came within an ace of gaining the equivalent of a great naval victory without firing a shot.

This conference was called ostensibly to discuss certain fishing rights claimed by Iceland, but it had unseen depths where Russia angled for a very fat fish indeed. The real prize sought by Russia was the acceptance by the conference of an Afro-Asian resolution that the strip of sea which is now looked upon as the territorial possession of all coastal states should, in future, be twelve miles wide instead of the now almost universally accepted

width of three miles. This, said the Russians, would give certain new nations, which were dependent upon the resources of the sea, a much greater area in which to fish, undisturbed by competition from foreigners.

What Russia did not mention, however, and what the meeting as a whole seemed loath to discuss, was that the substitution of a twelve-mile for a three-mile limit would place no less than nineteen important straits, which are now part of the high seas, under national jurisdiction. At present these straits have their central waters beyond the three-mile limit of any country, and are therefore completely free to all shipping. If the Afro-Asian proposal had been carried, however, the whole of the waters of these straits would have become the territorial possessions of the states on either side and no ship could pass through them without permission.

It is true that a United Nations resolution says that ships *should* have the right of "innocent passage" through such waters, but this term has little meaning. It is well understood that ships while in territorial waters can be boarded and searched at the discretion of the sovereign, that restrictions can be placed on radio transmission, and any regulations concerning pilotage, safety and customs can be enforced. Even the bar in the lounge can be closed at will. "Innocent passage" can be accompanied by such restrictions and harassment that navigation would not be

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worth while, or even practicable—and all this without contravening what is, after all, merely an expression of opinion by the "United Nations."

### II

THE SHIPPING INDUSTRIES of the world almost unanimously agree that the breadth of territorial waters should be as narrow as possible in order to minimize the possibility of interference with ships on the high seas. At three miles a ship's officer standing on the bridge of most ships can see the shore line. Chartered landmarks, such as towers and church spires, are clearly visible. And at three miles ships can in most instances anchor in safety outside the limit, but at six miles the water is usually too deep.

Thus in times of peace the three-mile limit has great advantages, but it is in time of war that a wider limit would become particularly disadvantageous and even dangerous to the Western nations, because international law requires that all territorial waters shall be closed to the ships of belligerent powers. This means that many important straits would be closed to the British and United States navies, including, of course, convoys transporting munitions or soldiers. The international law, to be sure, would also apply to the Russian navy, but this would affect it very little, for in any foreseeable contest, it is not likely to use these straits.

The American State Department must be aware of the imminent danger to the United States in any extension of territorial limits to either six or twelve miles, for it has received a report by the Association of American Geographers which states that although naval maneuvers entailing passage through territorial waters might *not*

*necessarily* be prevented, if the territorial limit were extended, there would be a serious potential danger. "In the face of international stress . . . the Western world could lose much. For example, United States warships steaming to quell trouble in a localized flare-up of hostilities might be subjected to additional travel time, as much as two or three days, to avoid penetrating the territorial sea of a non-belligerent state. Even hours can count heavily in critical incidents. Or there might be attempts to close off an area completely. It is probable that during a period of world tension [*i.e.*, even before actual hostilities] the right of innocent passage would be regarded by a neutral state as posing a threat to security, and as a result be denied."

This report also points out the increased distances a ship may have to travel merely by being required to keep an additional nine miles from shore. A twelve-mile limit would actually turn some three million square miles of sea, now perfectly free to the ships of all nations, into territorial waters which could be closed at will. In the event of war, these waters would *have* to be closed to Western navies, even by friendly powers, for not to do so would be a breach of neutrality which could drag the offending nation into war. Exactly the same principles govern aircraft, which in time of war would be excluded from flying over the territorial waters no less than over the land of a neutral power.

With only a six-mile limit the Straits of Gibraltar would become territorial waters. With Spain and Morocco neutral, this would create at least a barrier of hundreds of miles against aircraft entering the Mediterranean from the West. Or assume an entirely possible

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situation: Yugoslavia, for example, invades Italy; Great Britain and/or the United States support their ally against the Communist Empire; other nations remain officially neutral. Under international law, Britain and the United States would have *no* way whatsoever, whether by sea or by air, to transport supplies and troops to Italy. This obvious consequence of a six-mile limit must have been in mind of the Russians when they, under the pretext of giving increased fishing rights to certain small nations such as Iceland, supported the Afro-Asian resolution, which they had probably inspired in the first place.

### III

LET US NOT GET ICELAND confused with the main issue. The idea that nations can by international agreement grant to one nation special rights in contiguous waters beyond the three-mile limit for such purposes as fishing or undersea mining for minerals, without the actual extension of territorial power, has long been accepted. There was nothing to prevent the conference at Geneva from giving Iceland special fishing rights over an additional nine miles, if it so desired. In fact, as we shall see, such a concession of special fishing rights was *part* of a scheme that was almost adopted.

Exclusive fishing rights are one thing, territorial sovereignty quite another. In view of this, to put forward the Icelandic demand for fishing rights as a reason for increasing the territorial limits of *all* nations, was a remarkably brazen action on the part of those who moved the resolution. It failed, of course, with only the Afro-Asians and the Communists voting for it; but was it expected to succeed? Was its real purpose a hidden one? Did it really *compel* the United States to put forward

her subsequent compromise resolution? Or was the resolution which the United States moved jointly with Canada merely another example of the Western nations' love of compromise, or, as Senator Goldwater would say, "appeasement"?

This joint resolution proposed a territorial limit of six miles plus exclusive fishing rights over another six miles, the latter to take effect after a period of ten years. We are not here concerned with these extended fishing rights; all that interests us is the proposal to extend territorial limits from three to six miles, for if this *had* been accepted by the conference, it would, in event of war, have greatly weakened the position of the Western powers.

While it would not, of course, have been as disastrous as the Afro-Asian proposal, it would, nevertheless have placed at least six important straits, which are now perfectly free to shipping, under territorial control. According to the Association of American Geographers, these straits are:

- (1) Straits of Gibraltar. All ships passing through these straits would come under the jurisdiction of either Spain or Morocco. It would be the duty of these powers to block this Western gate of the Mediterranean to all belligerent ships and aircraft. Failure to do so would be a breach of neutrality.
- (2) Straits of Bab-al-Mandeb, entrance to the Red Sea, closing the approaches to Israel, United Arab Republic, Jordan, Sudan, Ethiopia, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, the Gulf of Aqaba, and the Southern entrance to the Suez Canal.
- (3) Straits of Malacca, between Malaya and the Indonesian Island of Sumatra.
- (4) Gulf of Honduras, between Honduras and British Honduras in the approach to the coast of Guatemala.

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(5) Entrance to Brunei Bay on the Northern coast of Borneo.

(6) Tsugara Kaikyo, between Hokkaido and Honshu, Japan.

### IV

WE DO NOT yet know where the next war will take place, but we can imagine many circumstances in which the blocking of these straits would have very serious consequences to the navies and armies of America and Great Britain.

Of course, the Anglo-Americans could simply violate the neutrality of the countries to whom these straits would belong, but this would be a breach of a world-wide moral code to which they have long committed themselves and a repudiation of the basic principle of international law, the distinction between neutrality and belligerency.

When we consider all these facts we must ask ourselves: Why did the United States and Canada jointly move, and Great Britain support, a resolution which, to put it mildly, would be so very inconvenient to the Western air and sea forces during times of war?

There can have been no doubt about the recognition of the three-mile limit as a fundamental of the international law that has been built up over centuries by the experience and agreement of civilized nations. It was explicitly affirmed by the great majority of nations at the Hague Codification Conference of 1930. The last body to consider the question was the International Law Commission appointed by the United Nations a few years ago, in which the United States Government presented a long declaration which emphatically stated its opinion that "A codification of the international law applicable to the territorial sea must . . . incorporate . . . the three-

mile limit and record its unquestioned acceptance as a lawful limit." The British Government's declaration before the same body was no less positive and emphatic. The question, indeed, came up at all only because the long-established principle had been questioned by some of the less civilized or responsible nations.

Before the last war the few countries which did not officially acknowledge the three-mile limit usually accepted it in practice. Even Russia allowed foreigners to fish to within three miles of her coast. Since the war, however, we have entered a period of retrogression in international morality, so much so that the very principle of the freedom of the seas is endangered.

Led by Argentina under General Perón, many South American nations have made the most extravagant claims to territorial waters. Peru, for example, claims 200 miles of the sea measured from her coast, and has actually arrested and heavily fined vessels which were peacefully hunting for whales many miles from land. Before the war these wholly unjustifiable acts would have been automatically condemned as piracy on the high seas. Fantastic claims have also been made, more or less seriously, by Chile, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Tunis, South Korea, Communist China, and Indonesia. In comparison with these, the twelve miles claimed by Iceland, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Republic seem relatively modest — a mere 400% of existing rights.

### V

THE REPRESENTATIVES of the United States and Great Britain at Geneva must have known of the emphatic statements made by their governments



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before the International Law Commission in favor of the three-mile limit. They must have known of the general tendency of less responsible nations to play havoc with the freedom of the seas by seizing large tracts of the ocean. They must have known, or should have known, of the warning contained in the booklet issued by the Association of American Geographers. Yet they proposed a resolution that constituted a complete abandonment of the three-mile limit which in times of war would gravely impair the military power of their own countries.

This complete abandonment of a position which International Law had established, and which Americans and Britains a few years before had supported with irrefutable arguments, is almost beyond human understanding. It becomes even more mysterious when we consider the nature and constitution of the Conference on the Law of the Sea at which this reversal took place.

To begin with, this court—for we must call it that since it was entrusted with the interpretation of the rights of many established interests—consisted of the representatives of eighty-eight nations, to many of which international law was an entirely novel conception. Many had neither merchant ships of any size nor fishing vessels, other than those used for inshore fishing. Some did not even possess a sea coast. Many—notably Peru, Indonesia, the Arab Republic, Chile, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama, Venezuela, and Yemen—were amongst the worst offenders in the post-war extension of territorial claims over seas which for centuries had been free, or in arbitrary interference with navigation in complete defiance of all international law and custom. It could correctly be said that those who broke

the law were sitting in judgment upon those who had kept it.

Although the vast majority of these eighty-eight states had no fleets of trawlers fishing the high seas to consider, many of them had offshore fishermen who, with no immediate prospect of fishing the high seas, were pressure groups for a twelve-mile limit which would give them an extended monopoly of the adjacent waters. This meant, of course, that although these nations sat in judgment on the Law of the Sea, they were certainly not free from bias and self-interest. To refer the Law of the Sea to such a body as this was, in reality, to abandon the Rule of Law altogether.

It is just possible that some will at this point say: "Well, what of it? You are creating a false analogy when you compare this conference with a Court of Law. It was not called to consider existing rights, but only to find out the wishes of the majority."

If this is so, the departure of the conference from our traditional principles of justice is even greater than we supposed. Great nations over the centuries have built great merchant fleets on the assumption that the oceans' highways would forever remain free. The very prosperity of the Western world depends on the freedom of the seas. So does its security in war time. By custom and usage the nations have acquired prescriptive rights to sail the seas without interference from coastal states, both in times of war and peace, so long as they remained outside a three-mile limit. Some have built large fishing fleets to fish the very seas over which other nations now claim the right of exclusive possession. Are these prescriptive rights to be subjected now, without any consideration of inter-

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national law, to the mere arbitrary will and interests or even the whims of the nations called together to sit in this strange conference?

Are politics, unhampered by accepted principles, to take the place of law, and is the power of great nations which have provided the world with many tons of merchant shipping to be equated with that of nations which do not possess a vessel of any kind? Was this conference to indulge in a strange form of power politics in which rights and customs did not count at all, but where the power (expressed in a vote) of insignificant states in which slavery still exists carries the same weight as that of the United States, or Great Britain? *Where the ambition of the owners of a few dhows could perhaps prevent a P. & O. liner from passing freely where it had passed for a hundred years?* Where the tiny population of a barbarous tribe or squalid sheikdom has as much power as a hundred and seventy million Americans?

To allow such a conference to throw old established principles of Christian civilization into the melting pot, and to reshape them according to irreligious or alien ideas, is to place civilization at the mercy of the barbarians. What is to prevent such a motley crew from deciding, for a small bribe or mere spitefulness, to take the Panama Canal from the United States, or Hudson's Bay from Canada?

### VI

WHETHER this weird conference was intended to be a court of law or merely an arbitrary body subject to nothing but the will of a two-thirds majority, there are two other points to be considered. The first of these is that many of the nations present were governed

by dictators who had given proof that they seldom respect law of any kind, and hold international law in particular contempt. Even more important, some countries officially had Communist governments, and a considerable number of others were obviously manipulated by the Communists or at least exposed to very strong pressures. The dominant purpose of these states was obviously to inflict as much damage as possible on the non-Communist world, particularly Great Britain and the United States. Under these circumstances the behavior of the American and Canadian representatives in jointly proposing a resolution which provided for a six-mile territorial limit is as strange and unnatural as is the behavior of the British representative in supporting it. Is modern civilization bent on self-destruction?

The American delegate, Mr. Arthur H. Dean, made it clear that he knew that the resolution was not in the interests of his country, and that he approved it only "To give embodiment to the desires of coastal states, especially the newer countries, who have desired to obtain exclusive fishing jurisdiction within twelve miles of their coast." In other words, the whole conception of the freedom of the seas was to be modified and the vital interests of the United States and all other maritime powers were to be sacrificed for no other reason than to appease a few petty nations who wanted monopoly fishing rights where they had never had them before and which, in any case, they were not entitled to possess, and which, furthermore, could have been granted without extending territorial limits!

The United Kingdom was represented by Her Majesty's Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries, Mr. John Hare, who also emphasized his country's

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sacrifices, although he probably did not comprehend their real extent. "Let no one think," he said, "that this does not involve a heavy sacrifice by the United Kingdom. It means abandoning the three-mile territorial sea." But he urged the conference to deal with this "economic, social [!] and humanitarian [!] problem in the spirit of the United Nations Charter"! His one object seemed to be to get a formal agreement out of the conference, however detrimental to the West; for that, in his view, would mean that the conference had "succeeded." The joint resolution, he said, "stands for the best chance of winning a majority." A great conception of Western civilization, which was of service to the whole world, was to be sacrificed for no other apparent reason than that a conference, made up chiefly of nations to which Western civilization was comparatively strange, might not adjourn without announcing an agreement.

### VII

THIS BRINGS US to another aspect of this strange surrender. Was a real agreement possible in any circumstances? Let us suppose that a resolution confirming the three-mile limit had been passed by the conference; would Iceland have accepted it? Would Peru and other countries with absurd claims of fifty or a hundred miles have observed even a six-mile limit, if that had been decided upon by the conference? Would Russia and the other Communist countries, who have consistently ignored international law and the customs of nations as well as their own treaties whenever they wished, have made an exception for a resolution by the pow-wow in Geneva?

But there are certain countries who respect international agreements and whose people tend to insist that any decision of a body set up by the United Nations should be blindly accepted; these, of course, are countries of the Western world. In them the propaganda value of the "United Nations" has incalculable force. To many of their people a decision announced by that mystic body becomes a moral imperative that must be obeyed at all costs. This being so, the West goes into *all* such conferences at a hopeless disadvantage. *It can lose, but it cannot win.* It must accept any decision which goes against it, while the Communists, their puppets, most of the dictatorships, and a number of "democracies" simply ignore any decision they do not like.

It is a sinister fact that before the conference the people of the Western world were being conditioned by their newspapers for surrender. References to the conferences described those who supported the three-mile limit as "flogging a dead horse." No arguments were presented—just the deadly assumption that *nobody* now supported three miles. The facts that trade routes would be seriously affected by the change, and that the military power of the West would be greatly impaired, were never mentioned. There was only the fatuous notion that the world was changing and, therefore, everything, including territorial limits, must change also. That's progress!

Only one thing finally saved the Western powers from the consequences of their own folly. Their proposed self-sacrifice was not enough to satisfy those who wanted a limit of twelve miles or more. The rules of the conference called for a two-thirds majority, and the fateful resolution was lost by

# In Place Of A Thousand Words



Last Stop On The New Frontiers

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## Communist Strategy And The High Seas

one vote. The other Western powers followed their leaders like sheep and voted for the resolution, but the final result was fifty-four in favor and twenty-eight against.

Those voting against the resolution were the ten officially Communist states, and Chile, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama, Peru, Venezuela, Iraq, Libya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Republic, Burma, Guinea, India, Iceland, Indonesia, the Sudan, and Yemen. They were as foolish in refusing half what they asked as were the Western nations in making their offer. Yemen, or any of these states, however small, had the same voting power as the United States or Great Britain, but this was for once fortunate, for it was the single vote of an Arab slave state that saved the Western nations from the immolation they had prepared for themselves.

### VIII

TODAY the only territorial limit which has, to quote an official declara-

tion by the United States before it so mysteriously changed its mind, "historical sanction and a record of acceptance in practice" is the three-mile limit. And until the "United Nations" intervenes again more disastrously, this will be recognized by the great civilized powers as the extent of territorial waters, and will be generally accepted in practice by the sheer power of tradition and custom by most of the rest of the world.

However, the question still remains: Why were the United States, Canada and Great Britain so eager to please the Communists and Afro-Asian nations that they were willing to increase territorial sea limits from three to six miles? Did they think the freedom of so many waterways and their own strategic needs not worth defending? How many positions can we surrender one by one before they add up to defeat?

If the United States and Britain attend many more conferences such as this, the Communists may win the world without a battle.

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### Voices Out Of The Past

There was once, O men of Athens, something in the minds of the people that is no longer there—something that defeated the might and the wealth of Persia, that vindicated the liberty of Greece, that was never conquered on land or sea, and that is now gone, leaving all Greece in turmoil and dismay. And what was that? Nothing elaborate or abstruse, but the simple fact that all men hated those who took bribes from the seekers of power and the agents of subversion. That was accounted the greatest of all crimes, so that he who was convicted of having been corrupted by bribes or by favors was condemned to the ultimate penalty, with no room for excuse and no hope of pardon . . . But now everything is for sale . . . For what are now the consequences of treason? Envy, for those who have profited; laughter, for those who confess; pardon, for those who are convicted; and hatred—hatred is now reserved for the man who speaks harshly of treason.

—Demosthenes, 341 B.C. (three years before Athens lost her independence).

# BULLETS

Equal men are not free, and free men are not equal.

*Tom Anderson*

\* \* \*

A Congo neutralist is one who is non-partisan as to whom he eats.

*Adapted From  
THE CONSERVATIVE*

\* \* \*

It's not true that brunettes have better dispositions than blondes. My wife has been both and I can't see any difference.

*Uncle Mat*

\* \* \*

We need a law that the number of federal agricultural employees shall not exceed the total number of farmers.

*Tom Anderson, Again*

\* \* \*

—the trans-partisan undertow that is leading us to tyranny.

*Frank Meyer,  
In NATIONAL REVIEW*

\* \* \*

I could muster the courage to fight, but I am not brave enough to surrender.

*Dan Smoot*

\* \* \*

Let us all be happy and live within our means, even if we have to borrow the money to do it.

*Artemus Ward*

\* \* \*

Political plums don't grow from seeds. They come from grafting.

*Carl de Suze*

\* \* \*

Joe Kimmel wrote us last February: "How many more Presidents like Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower can the nation endure?" We don't know, Joe, but it seems that we are doomed to find out.

*One Of Our Passing Pessimistic Moods*

It is sometimes remarkable what the change of one letter will do. The headline should have read: "Town fathers have budget trouble." It came out: "Town fatheds have budget trouble." Ho-hum!

*Adapted From  
EDITOR AND PUBLISHER*

\* \* \*

It is the same in love as in war; a fortress that parleys is half taken.

*Marguerite de Valois*

\* \* \*

Impossible is a word only to be found in the dictionary of fools.

*Napoleon*

\* \* \*

Insanity in individuals is something rare—but in groups, parties, nations, and epochs it is the rule.

*Nietzsche*

\* \* \*

A little nonsense now and then  
Is relished by the wisest men.

*One Of Them Named Anonymous*

\* \* \*

A liberal is a man who has both feet firmly planted in the air.

*Another Anonymous*

\* \* \*

The thorns which I have reaped are  
of the tree I planted.

*Byron*

\* \* \*

For heathen heart that puts her trust  
In reeking tube and iron shard,  
All valiant dust that builds on dust,  
And guarding, calls not Thee to guard,  
For frantic boast and foolish word—  
Thy mercy on Thy People, Lord!

*Kipling*

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# AMERICA'S FABLED WAR ECONOMY

by

EDWIN McDOWELL

A FAVORITE Communist canard is that, without the present arms race, the U. S. economy would "collapse like a house of cards." In fact, taunted straight-faced Nikita Khrushchev at every opportunity during his American junket, the artificial stimulus supplied by this country's enormous military spending is the only reason the Soviet economy has not yet overtaken that of the capitalist countries.

The Communists are not the only ones who contend that our economy is geared primarily to military expenditures. Many of our own American "liberals," seldom immune to the Communist line, parrot the charge. Late in September, 1959, for example, Senator Hubert Horatio Humphrey, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Disarmament Subcommittee—seemingly impressed by Khrushchev's whimsical proposal before the "UN" for "general and complete disarmament"—warned us that a reduction in our defense spending would bring economic dislocations, and promised that his group would hold hearings to determine the magnitude of these dislocations, and to "do some planning to take up any slack in the economy."

Many citizens, however, neither Communists nor "liberals," secretly harbour the same fears about a reduction in defense spending. When you consider that the United States spends forty-six billion dollars a year for national defense, their apprehension is readily understandable.

It is true that there are currently about two and one-half million men in our armed forces, and that for each man there are two or three men engaged in supplying him with weapons and other equipment. It is obviously true that many American communities are largely dependent on the revenue and employment provided by local military installations; and that in many others, defense contracts—including everything from aircraft to atomic missiles—do afford employment to thousands and thousands of workers. One cannot deny these facts, any more than one can deny that the TVA has impressive-looking dams. But the important question that needs answering is: Are these expenditures for defense economic necessities or are they the price we must pay for survival?

## If Peace Breaks Out . . .

Of course, few Americans this side of Eleanor expect wholesale disarmament. Khrushchev boasted that Russia would abandon Communism only "when shrimp learn to whistle," and, Communists being what they are, disarmament would simply amount to surrender. We are interested here only in a proposition that effects our thinking about economics.

So for the sake of argument, let us suppose shrimp suddenly do learn to whistle, that Russia abandons Communism, and that Communists have overnight a change of heart or simply evaporate. What then? The best way



## America's Fabled War Economy

to answer the question is to examine other periods during our nation's history when there occurred drastic reductions in military spending.

### As It Has Done Before . . .

The economic dislocations after the Civil War lasted only a few months and were followed by a half-dozen years of prosperity. But we are sometimes told that that was because our economy was not yet "mature."

At the end of the first World War, our spending for military items accounted for more than 20% of all business done in 1919. In the next year these expenditures were reduced by more than half, and to approximately 5½% in 1921. Total spending in the nation, however, fell less than 5% in constant dollars in 1920 and only 4% in 1921. The following year the economy returned to the level of 1919, and during 1923 it rose an additional 10%.

After World War II, American capitalism was faced with its most formidable challenge—what to do about the nine and one-half million defenders of democracy who were itching to return to civilian life. Should the government, as many "economic planners" urged, "create" jobs (presumably through boondoggles) or should free enterprise be allowed to cope with the problem? The result is history. Left to the free-market economy, the transition was accomplished almost without a ripple—at no time after the war did unemployment rise above 4%, and by 1947 our total annual spending was more than eleven billion dollars *greater* than in 1944, *despite a reduction of more than seventy-seven billion dollars* in military spending during each of those three years.

After Truman and Acheson's ad-

venture in Korea, our government, in a rare display of munificence, reduced expenditures and taxes—and act which stimulated both investment and consumption. And despite a 25% decrease in defense spending, the economy rose in 1955 to 6% above all previous peaks.

### With or Without Expertise? . . .

In other words, our experience has uniformly been that a decrease in expenditures for military purposes has always been compensated by a more than equivalent increase in private expenditures, and that the net result has been a growth of our economy as a whole. The "experts" who assure us that we are so dependent on a "war economy" that a serious reduction in the military budget would precipitate an economic crisis are assuming the very opposite of what has happened in such cases, and we are entitled to wonder whether they know what they are talking about.

The oft-told example of West Germany should convince even a "Modern Republican" of the folly of taking seriously the economic pronouncements of planners. As the West German Minister for Economic Affairs, Ludwig Erhard, pointed out in his book, *Prosperity Through Competition*, at the end of the war his country's economy was chaotic. The welfare-state planners had confidently predicted that for every German there would be only one suit of clothes every fifty years, one plate every five years, and that only every third person could be buried in a coffin: only through total control by the state could an impoverished people subsist at all.

Today, fifteen years after it was reduced to rubble, West Germany is the most prosperous nation in the world.



## America's Fabled War Economy

Her employment is at an all-time high of 20.1 million—12 million of them refugees from the various Communist Wonderlands—with less than 1% of the labor force unemployed (compared with 2.9% unemployed in the U. S. in 1953, its boom economic year). West Germany's principal economic problem is an unique one, not only for Europe but for the rest of the world as well: overemployment. ("Overemployment" because in any economy more than 1% of the labor force should be in the process of changing jobs.) According to a recent *Newsweek* report, that Republic's labor shortage is so severe that 350,000 jobs are going begging. Even heretofore unheard of inducements (e.g., extra pay to laborers and tradesmen who work outside in winter; wages 20-30% above union scale for some skilled workers), and campaigns to attract women (e.g., nurseries, laundries for the family wash, a four-hour day to leave time for housework), fail to solve the problem of an evaporated labor pool.

### How Miracles Work . . .

The reason for this German *Wirtschaftswunder* (economic miracle) is readily explicable. The government planners, Dr. Erhard noted, "had absolutely no conception that, if a people were allowed once more to become aware of the value and worth of freedom, dynamic forces would be released." The planners, in other words, simply do not take into account the principal source of economic power, the energy and enterprise of individuals. It is almost as though we were being told how to run railroads by "experts" who think that diesel locomotives are freight cars and need to be pulled with the rest of the train.

The reaction of the American economy in post-war periods and the amazing example of West Germany prove the capacity of a free-enterprise society to adjust with fluid adaptability to sudden changes. What would happen if, by some miracle, we *could* disarm is readily predictable. Undoubtedly there would be severe, localized dislocations, but they would only be temporary; the nation would soon adjust with a minimum of discomfort. The tax cut which should inevitably follow disarmament would act as a catalyst for a tremendous rise in consumer spending (automobiles, airplanes, houses, appliances, etc.); corporate tax cuts, which soon thereafter would turn up either in pay envelopes or in dividend checks, would add to the consumers' purchasing power and further stimulate investments; and, let's face it, the inevitable liberal pressures would funnel some of the money into increased public works programs.

### Why the Lie? . . .

The question that remains to be answered, then, is: Why, when it is clear that our economy does not depend on preparation for war, do many still give credence to the Big Lie? The answer undoubtedly lies in the fact that people see the tangible results of our defense spending—mammoth warships, thousands of supersonic jet planes, great bases, huge factories operating entirely on government contract—but are unable to envision what those billions of dollars would otherwise have been expended for: millions of new houses, improved highways and schools, better hospitals and increased medical research, and factories producing luxuries that few people now, accustomed to incomes depleted by taxation, think of

## America's Fabled War Economy

possessing. But there is another reason.

The fable of a "war economy" is spread by the far-from-disinterested "economic experts" of government, who have over the years insinuated into the popular mind a picture of the national treasury as a great artesian well that irrigates with life-giving waters an economy that would otherwise be a desert. It is as though people imagined that the money spent did not have first to be pumped out of the taxpayers, or as though there were some magic in a dollar spent by a bureaucrat in Washington—a power that the same dollar would not have, if it were spent by a private citizen in Seattle or Miami. This fable is propagated by politicians and everyone who has a vested interest in maintaining and increasing the stultifying power of the state. And, who knows? Many of them may have come

to believe it.

It is an historical and economic fact that our nation's periods of severe economic depression have had no discernible relationship to demobilization and disarmament or to other sharp decreases in the expenditures of the federal government. On the contrary, the evidence indicates that our material well-being increases when the economy is turned toward pleasing the consumer. For, in the long run (to crib a phrase from, of all people, Lord Keynes), it is the consumers' wants that determine what and how much shall be produced. By following that path in the past, America's capitalistic system proved, better than any other, that it was capable of fulfilling each demand placed upon it. Left to its own devices, free from the inhibiting hand of government, it still can be.

## If We Catch Up With The Soviets . . . .

In order to enjoy the glories of the present Soviet system, we would have to abandon three-fifths of our steel capacity, two-thirds of our petroleum capacity, 95 percent of our electric motor output, destroy two of every three of our hydro-electric plants, and get along on a tenth of our present volume of natural gas. We would have to rip up 14 of every 15 miles of our paved highways and two of every three miles of our mainline railroad tracks. We'd sink eight of every nine ocean-going ships, scrap 19 of every 20 cars and trucks, and shrink our civilian fleet to a shadow of its present size. We would cut our living standard by three-fourths, destroy 40 million TV sets, nine of every ten telephones, and seven of every ten houses; and then we would have to put about 60,000,000 of our people back on the farm.

It is plain to see that we have a lot of work to do if we catch up with the Soviet Union.

—BRYCE N. HARLOW  
Deputy Assistant to President Eisenhower.  
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# A REVIEW OF THE NEWS

*This is a magazine of opinion. But opinion should be based on facts. Here are the facts for*

**OCTOBER, 1960**

## **Saturday, October 1**

→ Soviet Premier Khrushchev warns that he will establish a new world organization, unless the United Nations ousts Nationalist China and admits Communist China to membership. Khrushchev issues this warning in a forty-one-minute address to the Fifteenth General Assembly of the United Nations.

→ Nigeria, formerly a British colony, becomes an independent nation, but the day is marked by violent tribal warfare in Benue Province in northern Nigeria.

→ President Eisenhower is formally urged to have a meeting with Soviet Premier Khrushchev. The proposal is made by five fraudulently labeled "neutralists"—Nehru (India), Nasser (United Arab Republic), Tito (Yugoslavia), Sukarno (Indonesia) and Nkrumah (Ghana).

→ It is reported in diplomatic circles at the United Nations that a conference has been arranged whereby the Republic of the Congo's President Kasavubu, the off-and-on Premier Lumumba and Army Chief of Staff Mobutu will discuss the political future of their country.

## **Sunday, October 2**

→ Communist Kwame Nkrumah, President of Ghana, is guest of honor at a United Nations correspondents'

luncheon where he supports the current Khrushchev strategy of tongue-in-cheek criticism of United Nations Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld.

## **Monday, October 3**

→ Jordan's King Hussein, addressing the United Nations General Assembly, cautions all nations to be alert to "Communist expansion under the guise of neutralism."

→ Jânio Quadros, who has been fulsome in his praise of Communism and Communists, is elected to the Presidency of Brazil.

→ The Nicaro Nickel Plant, owned by the United States Government, is occupied by Cuban Prime Minister Castro's militia in Oriente Province, Cuba.

→ The United States Supreme Court begins its 1960-1961 term. In its one thousand-case docket, the Court is expected to decide whether the United States Government may compel the Communist Party of the United States to register as an agency of the International Communist Conspiracy which emanates from Moscow.

→ The Guatemalan Ambassador to the Netherlands and Belgium, Mauricio Rosal, is arrested in New York City on charges of smuggling 110 pounds of heroin, valued at a minimum of four million dollars, into the United States.

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### Tuesday, October 4

→ United States Navy Commander John F. Davis flies an F4H1 Phantom II, a twin-jet fighter, at a record speed of 1,390.21 miles per hour. The flight is made on a circular course at a height of forty-five thousand feet.

→ In New Delhi, India it is announced that the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is cooperating with the Zoological Survey of India in the world's first international symposium on *termites*.

### Wednesday, October 5

→ The Castro régime reports that a twenty-seven-man invasion force from the United States has landed in Cuba.

→ By a referendum, South Africans vote to have their nation become a republic with a president in 1961. Since 1910 the Union of South Africa, with the British monarch as chief of state, has been a self-governing constitutional monarchy within the British community.

### Thursday, October 6

→ Eleanor Roosevelt entertains Soviet Premier Khrushchev at her apartment in New York City. Cocoa and crumpets are served.

→ Indonesia's Communist President Achmed Sukarno visits the White House and requests President Eisenhower to have another "summit" meeting with Soviet Premier Khrushchev.

→ The Department of State charges that two American tourists, Harvey C. Bennett and Mark I. Kaminsky, are held captive in the Soviet Union.

→ French President de Gaulle describes the United Nations as having degen-

erated "into a sort of permanent scandal, with emotional speeches, absurd bargaining and warlike dangers."

→ At the United Nations, Ireland's Minister of External Affairs, Frank Aiken, proposes that the new independent African nations should organize central Africa into an "area of law" under United Nations guarantees, which would include a ban on outside military forces and nuclear weapons; and African nations, in the area, would agree not to use force to settle their border disputes.

### Friday, October 7

→ Senator John F. Kennedy, the Democratic Party's presidential nominee, describes the United States President as *first, a legislative leader*, and secondly, an executive leader. This description, which is completely contrary to the Constitution of the United States, is set forth by Mr. Kennedy on television in the second so-called "great debate" with Vice President Nixon, the Republican Party's presidential nominee.

→ Twenty-eight miles southwest of Key West, Florida, a Cuban Sea Fury fighter plane buzzes the United States Submarine, *Balao*, in an aggressive manner for thirty-seven minutes.

→ Secretary of State Christian Herter and Wladyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary of Poland's Communist Party, confer for half an hour. It is reported that the two men discussed future increases of United States economic aid to Communist Poland.

### Saturday, October 8

→ The Fifteenth General Assembly of the United Nations votes to defer the question of admitting Communist

## A Review Of The News

China to membership. The vote is forty-two for deferment, thirty-four against deferment, and twenty-three abstentions.

→ In Taipei, Taiwan Lei Chen, publisher of the fortnightly magazine, *Free China*, and two of his associates (Liu Tzu-ying and Ma Chih-su) are convicted of sedition. Lei and Liu receive sentences of twelve years imprisonment, and Ma a five-year term.

### Sunday, October 9

→ For two hours and ten minutes this evening, David Susskind's television program, "Open End," serves as a propaganda forum for Soviet Premier Khrushchev.

→ Nigeria, which became independent eight days ago, becomes the ninety-ninth member-nation of the United Nations.

→ During a tour of Leopoldville's saloons, the Republic of the Congo's off-and-on Premier Lumumba announces that he is assuming complete power and that he will force United Nations troops to leave his country.

### Monday, October 10

→ The House Committee on Science and Astronautics reports that space-ship crews may be put into a state of hibernation for months or years.

→ Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru predicts the probable admittance of Communist China to the United Nations in 1961.

→ Chiang Kai-shek, President of Nationalist China, says that his forces can recover the Chinese mainland in three to five years, if all anti-Communist Chinese will unite for the task.

→ At a diplomatic reception given by the Cuban delegation to the United Nations, Soviet Premier Khrushchev says that he looks forward to the end of the Franco régime in Spain.

→ *Hsinhua*, the Communist Chinese news agency, reports that Communist China is greatly encouraged by the closeness of last Saturday's vote in the United Nations General Assembly on the question of Communist China's admission to the United Nations.

### Tuesday, October 11

→ Italy agrees to buy twelve million tons of oil from the Soviet Union during the next four years and, in turn, the Soviets will purchase from Italy 240,000 tons of steel tubes, fifty thousand tons of synthetic rubber, and an undisclosed amount of oil pipeline equipment.

→ Doctor Wernher von Braun, Director of the George C. Marshall Space Flight Center at Huntsville, Alabama, criticizes the nation's "bashful" Federal aid-to-education program, as he maintains that in the United States there is a "lack of sufficient educational opportunities."

→ Doctor Linus Pauling, a leader in the Committee For A Sane Nuclear Policy, refuses to tell the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee the names of the scientists who helped him to circulate petitions throughout the world calling for a ban on nuclear weapons.

### Wednesday, October 12

→ John A. McCone, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, warns that American nuclear arms superiority could soon slip from our hands unless tests are resumed. Mr. McCone suspects that time favors the Soviet Union.

## A Review Of The News

→ Inejiro Asanuma, Chairman of Japan's Socialist Party, is assassinated by seventeen-year-old Otaya Yamaguchi. Asanuma was the leader of the Communist demonstrations against the recently ratified Japanese-American mutual defense treaty.

→ Indonesia's Premier Djuanda *orders* all newspaper publishers to support and defend President Sukarno's program of guided democracy, guided economy and Indonesian socialism. Publishers who do not cooperate will at least lose their licenses.

### Thursday, October 13

→ An American citizen, Anthony Zarba, and twelve Cubans are executed by firing squads in Cuba. The thirteen men were convicted in a one-day trial of plotting to overthrow the régime of Cuban Prime Minister Castro.

→ The State Department reports that it has brought about one hundred African "students" from Soviet satellites to study in American universities. The United States has paid transportation costs and tuition fees for these "students" who were allegedly dissatisfied with educational opportunities behind the Iron Curtain.

→ Alexander Abramov, the first Soviet Ambassador to Laos, receives a very friendly welcome at Vientiane, the Laotian capital.

### Friday, October 14

→ Soviet Premier Khrushchev receives a triumphal welcome in Moscow as he arrives home from his twenty-five-day visit to the Fifteenth General Assembly of the United Nations.

### Saturday, October 15

→ Indian officials leave New Delhi en route to Moscow where they will purchase Soviet helicopters, transport aircraft, and engineering equipment.

→ An Indonesian government-owned radio reports that five hundred Indonesian "students" will travel to the United States in the next two years for graduate study in American universities.

→ Britain's Prime Minister Macmillan hints that he and Soviet Premier Khrushchev have already agreed to sponsor a four-power summit conference next spring, when the discussions will concern German unity and the status of West Berlin.

### Sunday, October 16

→ Professor W. W. Rostow of Massachusetts Institute of Technology describes Soviet annual income growth as about twice the rate of that of the United States.

→ The Soviet Government makes the first public disclosure that machinery is being shipped from the Soviet Union to the Communist-led Algerian FLN terrorists in Tunisia, where the FLN is training and supplying reinforcements for the six-year-old war in Algeria against the French Government.

→ In the Republic of the Congo, Army Chief of Staff Colonel Mobutu seeks and makes a friendship pact with President Tshombe of the secessionist Katanga Province.

### Monday, October 17

→ Charles Van Doren, who lied himself into fame and \$129,000 in "winings" on a television show, is arrested and charged with second degree perjury

## A Review Of The News

by the New York District Attorney's office.

→ In a report (*Residence And Race*), Professor David McEntire of the University of California alleges that one out of every six Americans cannot live where he wishes because of racial discrimination. This report is one of a series prepared by the Commission on Race and Housing which is financed by the Fund for the Republic.

### Tuesday, October 18

→ J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, estimates that there are three hundred thousand Communist espionage agents presently working around the world.

→ Cuban Foreign Minister Raul Roa, in a complaint filed with United Nations General Assembly's President Frederick H. Boland, charges that the United States Government is guilty of aerial aggression against Cuba.

→ State Department officials announce that negotiations are taking place to establish a base in Scotland for American atomic-powered submarines. There is very strong opposition in Britain to this plan.

→ More than eight hundred tons of textile machinery are stored on a Massachusetts pier awaiting shipment to the Soviet Union this month. The machinery will be installed in Kalinin, about fifty miles from Moscow, under the supervision of American engineers.

### Wednesday, October 19

→ Jacques Soustelle calls for a political alliance of French political forces which are opposed to French President de Gaulle's Algerian policy of "Algeria

for Algerians." Soustelle, a supporter of French sovereignty over Algeria, was ousted from his position of Minister Delegate by de Gaulle last February because of this same clash of policies.

→ The United States Department of Commerce announces a ban on the sale of most commodities, except food and medicine, to Cuba. This long over-due embargo will go into effect on November 21, 1960.

→ Two American tourists, Harvey C. Bennett and Mark I. Kaminsky, arrive in Vienna from the Soviet Union. The two men were arrested by the Soviets on August 25. Kaminsky was charged with espionage, tried and found guilty by a military tribunal, and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment, but was expelled from the Soviet Union, along with Bennett, who had been held as a material witness.

→ The American hospital ship, *Hope*, arrives in Jakarta, Indonesia for a seven-month-stay during which medical training will be provided for Indonesians.

### Thursday, October 20

→ Atomic Energy Commissioner Robert E. Wilson surmises that the Soviets have been secretly testing new nuclear weapons—at least since last winter.

→ Soviet Premier Khrushchev claims that the Soviet Union has atomic submarines armed with rockets.

→ In the Republic of the Congo, President Cleophas Kamitatu of Leopoldville Province orders the Congolese Army's Chief of Staff, Colonel Mobutu, either to acknowledge Kamitatu's authority or be expelled from Leopoldville. Kamitatu, a strong supporter of



## A Review Of The News

Congolese Premier Patrice Lumumba, is, in turn, supported by Rajeshwar Dayal who is the personal representative of Dag Hammarskjöld, the Secretary General of the United Nations.

→ United States Ambassador to Cuba Philip W. Bonsall is recalled to Washington for "an extended period of consultations."

→ In Kenya, the Mau Mau savages celebrate Kenyatta Day in honor of their imprisoned leader, Jomo Kenyatta. Tom Mboya, the self-styled "General Secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labor," instructs the savages to refrain from smoking, drinking or riding in any vehicle on the holiday. There is no report as to what special atrociousness Mboya recommends for the savages' amusement today.

### Friday, October 21

→ After calling for prayer over the religious issue in the current presidential campaign, former President Truman describes the Republicans as "bums," President Eisenhower as having lacked "guts" in the Cuban situation, and Vice President Nixon as incapable of telling the truth except by accident.

→ The Soviet Ambassador to West Germany, Andrei Smirnov, is escorted from a public meeting after shouting during a speech of German Vice Chancellor Ludwig Erhard.

### Saturday, October 22

→ French President Charles de Gaulle denounces the Soviet Union for interfering in the six-year-old Algerian rebellion.

→ John A. McCone, Chairman of the

Atomic Energy Commission, elaborating on his warning of ten days ago, expresses his fear that the Soviets may be "gaining an advantage by clandestine testing" of nuclear weapons.

### Sunday, October 23

→ After viewing a performance of an American ballet company in Moscow's Sports Palace, Soviet Premier Khrushchev and American Ambassador Llewellyn Thompson exchange toasts to friendship at a convivial banquet.

→ In the Republic of the Congo, mutinous Congolese troops engage in an orgy of rioting and looting. Civilians are attacked indiscriminately by the power-crazed, drunken "soldiers."

### Monday, October 24

→ President Eisenhower pays a good will visit to Mexico's pro-Communist President, Adolfo López Mateos, at Ciudad Acuña in Mexico.

→ Mrs. Styles Bridges, wife of New Hampshire's senior United States Senator, describes Senator John F. Kennedy's record on Communism as "very, very soft."

→ In the Republic of the Congo mutinous Congolese troops continue to terrorize the civilian population. United Nations forces watch the proceedings with interest, but make no attempt to bring about law and order.

### Tuesday, October 25

→ Britain's Prime Minister Macmillan announces that a revised Anglo-American agreement has been concluded concerning the use of United States Air Force bases in Britain. Under the agreement, the British Government will be apprised of *everything* that takes place on the bases.



## A Review Of The News

→ In the United Nations General Assembly, Secretary General Hammarskjöld submits a sixty-six-million-dollar budget for United Nations work in the Republic of the Congo during 1961. Hammarskjöld suggests that the money be raised by a special assessment from the member nations.

### Wednesday, October 26

→ A Communist-led junta overthrows the régime of El Salvador's President José María Lemus, who is forcibly exiled to Guatemala. The rebels promise "free elections" for El Salvador *in 1962*.

→ Cuban Premier Castro's régime seizes the property of 167 American-owned firms, including the Cuban Nickel Company *which is owned by the United States Government*.

→ The *New York Times* publishes a "secret" and "confidential" United States Information Service survey which was made in Britain and France last June. The survey concludes that the United States and the Soviet Union "suffered major losses in general standing with the British and French public" as a result of the short-lived Paris summit conference of last May.

### Thursday, October 27

→ Federal Bureau of Investigation agents arrest two Soviet spies, Igor Y. Melekh and Willie Hirsch. Melekh is an employee of the United Nations secretariat and Hirsch is a free lance artist. The two men were conspiring to obtain United States military secrets.

→ Premier Souvanna Phouma of Laos announces that his government will be very happy to accept Soviet aid.

→ At the United Nations General Assembly, Indonesia's Ambassador Sukardjo Wirjopranato gives his complete endorsement to the phoney disarmament proposals which have been part of Khrushchev's strategy for the past several years.

### Friday, October 28

→ The Turkish Government reveals that 154 professors and instructors have been dismissed from Istanbul University. The faculty members are suspected of not being in sympathy with the provisional government of General Cemal Gursel.

→ President Archbishop Makarios of Cyprus says he is opposed to the stockpiling of nuclear weapons at British bases on Cyprus.

### Saturday, October 29

→ In Cuba, 1450 United States Marines take week-end shore leave at the American naval base at Guantánamo Bay. The Communist press in Cuba and the Soviet Union describe this routine incident as a prelude to American aggression against the Castro régime.

→ *Tass*, the Soviet news agency, reports the arrival of Soviet geologists, electrical engineers, architects and farming and fishing experts in Ghana where they will serve as technical advisers.

→ In the Republic of the Congo, violent tribal warfare breaks out between the Balubas and the Lulus in Kasai Province. The Lulus support off-and-on Premier Lumumba and the Balubas support Albert Kalanji, President of the new secessionist South Kasai Province.

### Sunday, October 30

→ In the Republic of the Congo, United Nations forces arrest three Belgian busi-

nessmen and a British officer, Captain Roberts, who are accused of supplying the Baluba tribesmen with arms. The Balubas have recently terrorized, tortured and murdered civilians in South Kasai Province.

#### Monday, October 31

→ The British Admiralty announces that the United States Navy is planning the installation of a submarine "warning fence" in the North Atlantic. A strategically located chain of sonar

buoys, it is hoped, will be able to detect the presence of unidentified submarines.

→ At Pascagoula, Mississippi the United States Navy launches its twenty-second atomic-powered submarine, the *Snook*.

→ The Police Commissioner of New York City, Stephen P. Kennedy, says that his police force ran up a bill of at least three million dollars for extra work in providing protection for the foreign delegates to the current session of the United Nations General Assembly.

---

#### IF

If you can keep your head when all about you  
UNESCO seeks to muddle and deceive;  
If you can trust yourself when "pinkies" doubt you  
Because you love your Country and believe  
Its Constitution is the best that ever  
Was drawn to guard the liberties of man,  
And that Americans must all endeavor  
To keep it safe and solid if they can . . . . .

If you won't let the UN be your master,  
If you won't make world government your aim;  
If you can fight the sinister disaster  
Of letting spies and traitors win the game —  
If you are loyal to the land that gave you  
Your freedom and the chance to fight and win  
And count upon its Bill of Rights to save you  
From tyranny and slavery and sin . . . . .

If you respect your Flag and love your Maker  
And pray that He will guide you to do right,  
And do not let the first high-sounding faker  
Convince you white is black and black is white —  
If you stand up and say you love Old Glory  
And show that you're American with guts . . . . .  
My friend, you'd better get yourself a lawyer,  
For "Mental Health" is out to *prove you're NUTS!!*

*Author Unknown*

# A REVIEW OF REVIEWS

by

REVILO P. OLIVER

The personality contest held on 8 November marked a new low in American politics. Voters, except in so far as they may have been influenced by party loyalty or orders from their union bosses, presumably judged the hair and teeth of the two major candidates. Certainly, the speeches and "debates" in which both uttered the same inanities disclosed nothing—not even which was the more inept actor or which had the more ambiguous speech-writer. It would seem that American politics, having long ago discarded moral principle, has now discarded the spoken word as a means of suasion.

In this context, John Franklin Carter's *POWER AND PERSUASION* (Duell, Sloan & Pearce, New York; 204 pages, \$3.95) already seems a little out-of-date. The author wrote lines for such performers as Roosevelt, Dewey, and Truman, who frequently tried to make definite statements in such a way as to have it appear that the speaker meant them. Now that the cosmetician has replaced the rhetorician in presidential tactics, Mr. Carter's hints on how to twist facts and concoct plausible arguments to take in the electorate may have only historical significance.

However that may be, Mr. Carter's recollections and anecdotes are quite interesting and, if used with discretion, will be a valuable source for historians. For example, his statement that on the Tuesday before the Sunday of Pearl Harbor Roosevelt remarked that he was expecting "a Japanese attack within

a week" confirms what is, of course, indubitably known from other sources. He speaks as an insider and as a frequently uncritical admirer of Roosevelt, to whose memory he "affectionately" dedicates his book, when he commends the cleverness of the maneuver by which all the nation's banks were closed as soon as the new régime took over, thus "compelling the predominantly Republican bankers, industrialists, and businessmen to turn to Roosevelt for permission to exist."

There are also some interesting comments on modern political techniques, such as the use of "the income tax as an engine of compulsion" by sending in agents from the Treasury Department to harass and intimidate business men who oppose the administration, or to arrange the kind of settlement that will place its beneficiary under a political obligation. The eagerness of the "New Deal" and subsequent administrations to take over "the burden of providing welfare assistance at the local level" is explained by the consideration, which may not have occurred to some of us, that federal officers can collect larger pay-offs and charge more for putting on the fix than would be feasible for local politicians.

One matter mentioned by Mr. Carter particularly impressed me because it evoked a recollection of my own. While the Republican Convention in 1940 was moving to its climax, I was walking around a small lake in the company of Willmoore Kendall, now a professor

## A Review of Reviews

at Yale and an editor of *National Review*. Radios were blaring in the summer homes along the lake front, and before we completed our circuit we knew that Wendell Willkie had been nominated. Mr. Kendall, who had no inside information, gave me an analysis of the political situation to show that (1) Willkie was Roosevelt's candidate for the Republican nomination, (2) the purpose was to ensure defeat of the Republicans with insurance that, if something should go wrong and they should win the election, there would be no essential change in American governmental policy, and (3) the nomination of Willkie must, therefore, have been bought.

I was very young in those days and politically naïf. While I had to admit the cogency of the analysis, I could not accept the conclusion, which seemed to me quite *outrée*. I argued that through self-interest, if for no other reason, the delegates must have believed (however mistakenly) that Willkie was the candidate most likely to win, and that they must have had some assurance that his "me too" attitude, discernible even before the nomination, covered a far more conservative purpose.

Mr. Carter, who was on the inside, now comments in passing on the "ingenious" way in which the nomination of Willkie was procured by mobilizing "all the major creditors of the Republican delegates" so that "each delegate was assailed with letters, telegrams, and long-distance calls from *the man who held his note or mortgage or controlled his line of credit*." As Mr. Carter notes, "This proved remarkably persuasive and Willkie was triumphantly nominated and resoundingly defeated in an election in which he carefully avoided any major national cleavage over for-

eign policy."

Roosevelt's stratagem not only made it certain that the boobs would have no real choice before them, but enabled him to repeat Wilson's famous trick of 1916, and to pose as a man of peace while intensifying his preparations to get into the war and have fun. Mr. Carter is undecided about Roosevelt's oft-repeated and vehement promise in the campaign of 1940 that there was not "the remotest possibility of sending the boys of American mothers to fight on the battlefields of Europe." It turned the trick, of course, but Mr. Carter thinks that the campaign could have been won without being so explicit, and, as he elsewhere points out, it can be politically dangerous to be caught in a lie. As a matter of fact, "Wilson's 1916 'He kept us out of war' pretense was punished by the loss of Congress two years later."

Mr. Carter, who regards campaign oratory as the technique of sending the suckers to the polls in the right mood, also has political opinions of his own. They range from the observation that we fought "a bitter and largely unnecessary war with Japan to the ultimate advantage of the Soviet Union" and the note that many Americans are "becoming allergic to the ever-increasing demands of the tax collector, the union leader, and the price inflation that results from Democratic efforts to bribe everybody with everyone else's money at one and the same time"—range from these, I say, to repetition of the old myth about the "McCarthy reign of terror," and to the incredible intimation that the Soviet faces "conversion or collapse" because its scientists are "taught to respect the microscopic tolerances required by precision tools" and therefore will not believe the

## A Review of Reviews

régime's propaganda.

This variety will puzzle the reader until he sees that Mr. Carter's views are intellectually disconnected. He may have leafed through Aristotle's *Politics* or even Plato, but he has not thought about politics in that sense of the word. In addition to the relation of political power to campaign oratory, he connects power with bribery, blackmail, physical violence, and terrorism ("very effective"), but there is one connection that did not occur to him—not, at least, as anything worth mention. For that, we must turn to the next book.

\* \* \*

POWER AND MORALITY, by Pitirim A. Sorokin and Walter A. Lunden (Porter Sargent, Boston; 200 pages, \$3.50), is essentially a documentation of the generalization about power that Lord Acton condensed from Plato. To show power's power to corrupt, the authors range through history to collect statistics which prove that "the ruling group is indeed the most criminally-murderous group among the populations of almost all countries or nations." Even more significant is the demonstration that the incidence of crimes and misdeeds among rulers, whatever the form of government, decreases in proportion with the restriction of their power and prerogatives. Although one could complain that insufficient discrimination is shown in some statistical details (e.g. in the category of "sexual offenses"), the evidence for the corrupting effect of power is simply overwhelming, and presents one of the most striking arguments for limited government. "If and when the power of ruling bodies is greatly limited (legally and factually) and when the governments function amidst a strongly integrated and unified moral public opinion, their crimi-

nality may become equal to or even fall below the criminality of their ruled populations."

It should be noted, by the way, that the rule which holds for kings and presidents also holds in exact proportion, according to the authors, for financiers, bureaucrats, and labor leaders.

The authors discuss with insight and sagacity the moral disintegration of our age and its causes, from "S. Freud's yarns" to the intellectual and spiritual bankruptcy of the materialism which they term "sensate culture." The picture is dismal and frightening.

So grim is the prospect before Professor Sorokin and his collaborator, and so intense is their moral earnestness that—if I may use the exact metaphor without suspicion of levity—the circuits become overloaded and the lights go out. For suddenly the examination of facts is converted into a soteric rhapsody. The world, we are exhorted to believe, can be saved only by outlawing war, by universal disarmament, universal brotherly love . . .

Such changes would be very nice indeed, but a hope of them is much less reasonable than the hope, also entertained by some of our contemporaries, that the world will be saved by intervention of the beings who operate "flying saucers." For the phenomena that the Romans called *clipei ardentes* and our contemporaries call "flying saucers" undoubtedly do exist; it is possible that these objects are, as Charles Fort suggested in 1920, machines operated by intelligent beings; and if such beings do visit the earth, it is not inconceivable that they might someday take a sympathetic interest in its inhabitants. We know nothing of such beings, and hence cannot predict their conduct; but we know a great deal

## A Review Of The News

about men. And all that we know of them in the past and present, and all that we can predict of them in the future, makes it certain that peace can be maintained only by the power and willingness to wage war, that armed force will be the ultimate arbiter of human destinies to the last syllable of recorded time, and that peoples who think otherwise speedily vanish from the face of the earth.

*(The theme of the criminality of rulers is, of course, an old one with Professor Sorokin. This editor has discussed it for years. And without having any great respect for the intellectual honesty of Sorokin, we have no doubt that in this instance he is basically correct. But when we come to the solution offered by himself and his collaborator, to the moral problems of our age produced by the corruption of power, we cannot help noting the remarkable similarity between their suggestions and the current Communist propaganda line. The arm of coincidence can, at times, amaze us by its length. Editor)*

\* \* \*

The realities of this world are often unpleasant and sometimes intolerable, but though we close our eyes ever so tightly and wish ever so hard, they will not go away. War as the *ultima ratio* is one of those realities, and of all the illusions that men induce in themselves with opium or words, none is more futile and dangerous than the notion that war, the product of forces innate in mankind, can be eliminated by some superficial change in the part of our material environment that is subject to our control.

In the past two centuries this notion has commonly taken the form of argument that a new weapon has made war horrible and therefore "unthinkable."

Henri de Saint-Simon, for example, conclusively demonstrated that the power of modern artillery made warfare so destructive and lethal that Europe—and, indeed, the whole world—simply had *no* alternative to peace in 1814. Currently, of course, the talk is about the latest thing in atomic bombs.

The notion really springs from a strange myth that is made possible by the historical and literary illiteracy of our age—the myth that war was a delightful sport until it was ruined a few years ago by "modern conditions." Now it is true that savages and barbarians do find tribal raids an exhilarating pastime, but that is only because nature denied them reflective minds. In our almost three thousand years of recorded history, we, the men of the West, as represented by our mature minds, have *never* been so barbarous and stupid.

Since the time of Homer, who uses nineteen adjectives to qualify the noun *polemos*, all of them meaning 'dire,' 'dreadful,' 'hateful,' and the like, rational men have had no illusions that war was pleasant, but they found in their own standards of honor and duty the courage to face its horrors. It remained for the scatter-brained Romantics of our time to fancy that war ought to be fun and then write a thousand books to report with bitter disillusion that it isn't.

We of the West have always known that war is horrible, and for the greater part of our three thousand years the soul of man in battle has been sustained by Christian faith. It is alarming, therefore, to find that the atomic novelty has perturbed and dismayed even Christian theologians. We are not now concerned with the members of the Communist conspiracy who, following the lead of the notorious Dr. Harry F. Ward, have

## A Review of Reviews

disguised themselves in clerical vestments to masquerade Communist propaganda in Christian terminology; nor are we concerned with the promoters who find a "social gospel" a passable substitute for belief in God. We are interested only in serious Christian thought, and we comment, not on theology, which lies beyond the scope of this column, but on the proposition that theology has been changed by "modern conditions."

We turn to *MODERN WAR AND THE AMERICAN CHURCHES*, by Ralph Luther Moellering (American Press, New York; 141 pages, \$2.75), which is neither the latest nor the most sensational of the dozen recent books on this subject before us, because it is the most lucid and forthright, and is written with a moral earnestness that commands our deepest respect.

The Reverend Mr. Moellering is not a pacifist and certainly is not a time-server. He takes his departure, in fact, from the odd contrast between the conduct of the American clergy in 1939-1941, when the speakers in many pulpits were whooping it up for a Crusade against National Socialism in Germany, and its strange silence today. "If the grounds on which we went to war against Germany and Japan were justified, we would be obliged to invade Russia at once and demand the unconditional surrender of the Soviet leaders."

The author goes much farther than that, however, and states his case with unflinching courage. (1) In 1939-1941, war was not justified as self-defense, because the United States was not attacked, although after gross violations of neutrality and even acts of war had failed to provoke the Germans to reprisals, Japan was finally maneuvered into attacking Pearl Harbor. (2) The

war was not preventive self-protection, because there is not the slightest reason to believe that Germany and Japan, if they had been victorious, would have even wished to attack the United States. It is unlikely that they would have had the military capacity to do so, and at all events they could not have developed the great weapon that makes the Soviet so formidable: they "would never have had the propaganda resources which are at the disposal of the Communists today. They would not have had the immediately available spy rings which the Communist cells in every country provide. When did the German-American Bund ever produce an Alger Hiss or a Harry Dexter White?" (3) it was not the Axis but Great Britain which, on 11 May, 1940, made "the first deliberate breach of the fundamental rule of civilized warfare" by bombing helpless civilians in undefended German cities—and this for the premeditated purpose of forcing the German government to bomb the helpless civilians in undefended British cities! (4) Whatever the moral defects of the Axis governments, they were not a valid reason for Christians to condone or even endorse the more feral barbarism of Russia. At the very least, "The ideological conflict between Communism and Christianity is much clearer today than the opposition between Christianity and the Axis powers ever was."

Now, granting that the conduct of the bellicose clergy in 1939-1941 was unjustified, the question would seem to be whether the clergy is *now* justified, especially in the light of Mr. Moellering's second and fourth points, in urging war against the Soviet or, if the clergy should *never* urge war, in taking some less drastic position which would, at least, not impede efforts to



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combat Communism at the risk of war. But Mr. Moellering does not see the question so clearly.

Although he perceives that many of his clerical brethren were duped by "Liberal" propaganda in 1939-1945, he has permitted himself to be confused by propaganda now disseminated by the same sources. He thinks it "questionable whether the Christian ethics which were contrived [*sic*] to meet war situations that arose in A.D. 800 or 1600 can be applied to the Atomic Age." I emphasize the slip of the author's pen. He, of course, does not mean that Christian ethics were *contrived* by any man to manipulate society in any way. He is clearly thinking of the conventions and methods of warfare.

We are indeed unfortunate that we were not born in the Eighteenth Century, when limited *monarchies* of Europe were usually able to fight limited wars for limited and strictly selfish objectives with a minimum of inconvenience to civilians and a minimum of bloodshed on the battlefield. But the Age of Reason was an exception in history; so far as mildness of warfare is concerned, it marks a peak that we slowly attained and from which we precipitately declined with the coming of the French Revolution. But war has always entailed death.

There is, so far as I know, no evidence that a man who has been killed by a hydrogen bomb is in any way deader than a man whose brains have been beaten out with a stone. The bomb is not even more efficient than a tribe of barbarians armed with the simplest weapons. Its effects are not new. Mr. Moellering could cite from the Old Testament alone a score of passages to parallel Joshua vi. 20:

"And they utterly destroyed all that

was in the city, both man and woman, young and old, and ox, and sheep, and ass, with the edge of the sword."

What more can Science do?

The risk of death, to be sure, may daunt any man or woman, although death is the one certainty that we all face. But pagans and atheists have died bravely in war and even willingly for the sake of others. The Christian, however, believes that men have immortal souls and, after death, an eternal future that cannot be disturbed by the biggest bang that physicists may be able to produce. Unless atomic fission is held to have abolished immortality, the ethical problems of war for Christians remain today precisely what they were in the age of Constantine. And the Christian, of all men, is least entitled to claim indulgence for cowardice.

It is indeed deplorable that our atomic weapons were delivered by traitors to our implacable enemies, and perhaps even more deplorable that we did not use our advantages when we had them and could have guaranteed peace for decades. But *now* our problem is to provide for our preservation at the minimum loss to ourselves. And if that involve the risk of war, there is no help for it.

Mr. Moellering has permitted himself to be impressed by propaganda when he assumes that an atomic war (should it occur) would be "a war which can have no conceivable objective that is worth fighting for." Entirely aside from the fact that the dire predictions of universal ruin and death are hysterical exaggerations, and entirely aside from the possibility that for nations, as for men, moral principle and honor may be more valuable than life, we come finally to the grim fact that should convince even the godless: if we Americans

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should ever have to choose between a certainty of annihilation in an atomic holocaust and life under the rule of the Communist agents now among us, we shall be very foolish indeed if we do not choose the quick and easy death.

### BRIEF MENTION

*The Liberal Hour.* By John Kenneth Galbraith. Houghton-Mifflin. \$3.50.

Whenever there comes a pause in the day's occupations, the Liberals troop to Papa's knee to hear again with wide-eyed wonder the old familiar tales. Professor Galbraith tells them, among other things, about Labor Unions, whose powers cannot be limited in any way, because that would be reactionary. To avoid limiting them, therefore, we must have the federal government fix wages and prices in major industries. As you little folks all know, when the Fairy Godmother waves her wand, everybody always lives happily ever after.

\* \* \*

*Una interpretación de la Historia universal,* por José Ortega y Gasset. Madrid, Revista de Occidente. 90 pesetas.

In this book, just published posthumously and unfortunately not available in English, the author of *The Revolt of the Masses*, starting with a critique of Toynbee, presents his final view of the nature of historical change. There is much that a philosophic conservative will wish to meditate; e.g. the "legal pragmatism" now fashionable in our courts and law schools is incompatible with the basic concept of law (Roman or Anglo-Saxon) and must lead eventually to tyranny.

\* \* \*

*Communist Anti-American Riots.* Staff study, Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

Sixty pages of precise and concise information on the techniques used in Bogotá, Caracas, La Paz, and Tokyo, which, aside from local adaptations, will be used in this country. Typical Japanese mob as reported by a Communist newspaper: 250 university professors, 500 delegates from Christian churches, 25,000 university students, 1,000 high school students. Moral to be drawn from all riots: when the university-bred hoodlums start on a rampage, loyal police cannot reasonably be asked to disperse them with fire hoses or cream puffs.

\* \* \*

*Man in Modern Fiction.* By Edmund Fuller. Random House. \$3.50.

The author examines the blight that has withered and rotted the imaginative powers of contemporary writers and readers, a poisoned romanticism that "sees man as collective, irresponsible, morally neuter." Debased and perverted fiction, however, is merely an index of corrupted taste, and no form of governmental censorship can do more than exacerbate the malady. Our task is to prevent government from preventing people from protecting themselves.

\* \* \*

*Introduction to Space.* By Lee A. DuBridge. Columbia University. \$2.50

This sober and factual survey of what is now magniloquently called astronautics makes it clear that the experts who so vociferously assure the public and Congressional appropriations committees that we are "living in the space age" have been reading too many comic books of the "Flash Gordon" variety.

\* \* \*

*The Seventh Day.* By Hans Hellmut Kirst. Ace Books. 50¢.

This novel, originally written to undermine the morale of the German

## A Review of Reviews

people, is now being sold in all our drug stores. There is an uprising in Poland. A German general—nasty militarist, of course—permits his troops to intervene in a border incident. Then lo! the awful hydrogen bomb, and "mankind has but a few hours to live." Surely surrender is better than that, ain't it, now? The book has a certain superficial realism that will impress the uncritical minds and pavid souls of drug-store cowboys.

\* \* \*

*Red Alert.* By Peter Bryant. Ace Books. 35¢.

Also in drug stores; also about World War III. An American general—nasty militarist, of course—orders his bombers to attack Russia. (That shows the danger of having a Strategic Air Force.) One B-52 with a hydrogen bomb penetrates the superb Russian defenses, but our great-souled President telephones the Boss in the Kremlin, agrees to the obliteration of Atlantic City as an offset, and so convinces him that Americans mean well. After that, everybody's buddies, just like Camp David, you know.

## CONFETTI

Clerk, to customer who has just bought a golf ball: "Shall I wrap it, Sir?"

Customer: "No, I'll drive it home."

\* \* \*

A sit-down strike was called among the employees of a small shop and the company president decided to settle it swiftly.

"Boys," he told the strikers, "you might as well be comfortable and have a good time."

He then sent them blankets and three cases of whiskey. When the whiskey was almost gone he sent in twenty young ladies to entertain the boys. In the midst of the festivities he brought in the strikers' wives. The strike was called off the next day.

\* \* \*

Girls, when they went out to swim,  
Once dressed like Mother Hubbard;  
Now they have a bolder whim,  
They dress just like her cupboard.

"Whenever I have a headache," explained the patient to his doctor, "I take aspirin. When I have a cold, I go to bed and drink fruit juices. If I have stomach trouble, I take bicarbonate of soda. Have I been doing the right things?"

"Yes, you have," replied the doctor. "That will be ten dollars, please."

\* \* \*

Two young ladies were discussing their marital prospects. One of them was pessimistic.

"You shouldn't be discouraged," the other said. "In this world there's a boy for every girl and a girl for every boy. You wouldn't want to change that, would you?"

"I don't want to change it," the pessimistic one said grimly. "I just want to get in on it."

\* \* \*

Some motorists are in such a hurry to get to the next town, they go right on into the next world.

\* \* \*

An exasperated salesman abandoned his car in a no-parking zone, and left this note:

"I've circled this block twenty times. I have an appointment and must keep it or lose my job. Forgive us our trespasses." Upon returning, he found a parking ticket with this note:

"I've circled this block twenty years. If I don't give you a ticket I'll lose my job. Lead us not into temptation."

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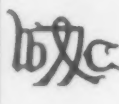
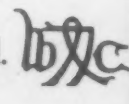
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